

695. v. 4

AN
ANSWER
Paragraph by Paragraph,
TO THE
Memorial
OF THE
CHURCH of ENGLAND.



LONDON:
Printed in the Year, 1705.

A. N. S. W. E. R.

Thoughts by Thomas

TO THE

MEMBERS

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

AND

OF THE

WORLD

IN

THE

YEAR

1800

AND

THE

YEAR

1801

A N S W E R

T O T H E

M E M O R I A L, &c.

THose that look no deeper than the surface of things, are apt to conclude without Hesitation, that the *Church of E——d* is in a very *Flourishing Condition*: Its *Dignities* and *Preferments* make a very goodly shew, and the *Patronage* of the *Q——n* seems to promise a continuance of *Prosperity*. But for all this fine *Complexion* and fine *Weather*, there is a *Helltick Fever* lurking in the very *Bowels* of it; which, if not timely *Cur'd*, will infect all the *Humours*, and at length *Destroy* the very *Being* of it.

*Condition of
the Church not
to be judg'd by
the External
Appearance.*

‘ If the *Church of England* is not in a *Flourishing Condition* under a *Queen of Her Vows* and *Her Wilhes*, one that is not only entirely *English*, but entirely bred up in *Her Communion*, When will she think *Her self* so? To *Purge the Body Politick* of all its *Ill Humours* at once is more than a *Herculean Labour*, and *Her M——ty* has gone as far as could be expected towards the *Reforming* th’ *Abuse* crept into the *Government* either *Ecclesiastical*, or *Civil*, after they had got to such a *Head* in the last *Reign*.

The *Nation* has a long time abounded with *Sectaries*, who in the preceding *Century* violently overturn’d both *Church* and *State*; tho’ their own *Extravagance* and *Confusions*, thro’ a special *Providence*, contributed more than *Human Wisdom* to the *Re-establishment* of ’em. The *Sons* of those *Men* yet remain, and inherit many of ’em the *Principles* of their *Fathers*: It wou’d therefore be no very uncharitable *Supposition*, without any other *Argument*, to imagine ’em *Heirs* of their *Designs* likewise: For it is easie to demonstrate that such *Principles* lead naturally to such *Designs*, and that no *Man* can heartily embrace *One*, without having favourable thoughts of *T’other*; nor can we *Blame* ’em, for if any *Man* is persuaded (as many of our *Sectarians* avow themselves to be) that the *Discipline* and *Worship* of the *Church of E——d* are an *Abomination*, his *Conscience* will readily suggest to him

*Danger of the
Church from
whom.*

that he ought to do his utmost to *Purge* the *Land* from such *Abomination*; and upon this *Pretence* has the *Church* been once already intirely subverted, tho' raised again by God in a *Miraculous* manner. In those days a thorough *Reformation*, *Root and Branch* was the *Cry* of all the *Pulpits*, the *Shibboleth* of the *Party*. If since the *Church* recover'd its antient *Lustre* and *Authority*, they have been more *Silent*, and in appearance more *Moderate*; it is not that they are better *Temper'd* or *Affected*, but that submitting to the *Necessity* of the *Times*, they have *dissembl'd* their *Intentions* better; yet some overt *Attempts* here, and the whole *Course* of their *Proceedings* in *S* — *d* during these *Two* last *Reigns*, sufficiently shew us what *Treatment* we might expect, if they had the *Power*.

The *S* — *ch* and *E* — *ss* are upon two different *E* — *ments*, and tho' the *Transactions* there, on the side of the *Kirk Party*, have been unaccountably severe to the *Episcopal Clergy*, we are not to infer from thence, that the *Dissenters* among us are about to follow such an unprecedented *Example*: Because they are *Tolerated* not *Establish'd*, and Her *M* — *sty* continues to have those about Her *R* — *al P* — *son* who have all along Voted for the *Bill* to prevent *Oc* — *al Con* — *ty*, which is a sufficient *Argument* of the *Churches* security, since it is not to be suppos'd that their *Hearts* act contrary to their *Mouths*, or that they give their *Opinion* one way *Publickly*, and make *Interest* clandestinely against the very *Bill* they would be taken to be sticklers for. That the *Persons* of such *Men* as were concern'd in the late *Horrid Rebellion* against *K. Charles I. and II.* are now living, is no *Argument* that they must be of the same *Wicked Principles*; for we have some that are concern'd in the present *Ad* — *tion* that fall under another *Character*:

But these *People*, tho' they may have the *Will*, have not the *Power* alone to endanger the *Church*. The *Dissenters* are not yet considerable enough for their *Numbers*, (however they boast of 'em) *Wealth*, or *Quality*, to bring about any great *Change* in the *Constitution* of *Church* or *State*. And our *Church* is too *Strong* to be *Shaken*, but through *Treachery* or *Supine Negligence* of its own *Members*, or those at least that pretend to be such; and as such palm themselves frequently upon their *Country* or *Church*, to the irreparable *Damage* of Both.

Forgiveness is an Excellence of *Mind* inseparable from the *Family* of *S* — *ts*, and ought Her *M* — *ty* to be call'd in *Question* for adhering to our *Saviour's Precepts* of doing *Good* to those *Despightfully* us'd? If they took advantage and grew *Insolent* upon it, the fault is theirs, not the *Q* — *'s*.

The

The sudden Death of the late King disappointed, mortified and humbled the *Dissenters*, and their *Abettors* the *Whigs* so excessively, that they were ready to have thrown a *Blank* to the *Church*, and would have taken a general *Indemnity* with an *Exclusion* from all *Publick Trust* and *Office*. They who not a *Month* before breathed nothing but *Defiance*, and insulted the *Church*, and treated the *Princess* with the most *Scandalous Indignities*, and *Rudest Calumnies*, were in an instant grown the most *Dutiful Subjects*, the most *Affectionate Friends*, and the most *Peaceable, Meek, Christian, Spirited* People in the *Universe*. They *Preach'd* nothing but *Charity, Peace and Love, Forgiveness of Injuries, Oblivion of Wrongs*, and the utter *Abolition* and *Extinction* of *Parties and Factions* for ever, so very Good and Gracious can Men in *Fear* be! But whence this *Humility* and *Dejection of Mind*, this *Sweetness of Temper*? Was it *Natural*, or the *Result* of more extraordinary *Grace*, or more *Christian Principles* than other Men were possess'd of? No! But they had just before *Injur'd* and *Affronted* the *Princess* and *Church* of *England* in so *Insolent* and *Outragious* a manner, upon *Presumption*, that durable *Schemes* were upon the *Anvil* in their *Favour*, that their own *Consciences* upon the vanishing of 'em, prompted 'em to seek *Pardon* and *Peace* from those whom they had so *Abus'd*, by an extraordinary *Submission*.

Their late
Disposition
and the Tem-
per, and the
Reasons of it.

The *Proceedings* as to *Affairs of Religion* in *Scotland*, can never endanger us here in our *Ecclesiastical* concerns, and let what *Concessions* be made, the *Ministry* shall think fit there, they can never hurt us, unless in those that are *Civil*; because the *Kirk Establishment* has been made *National* by *Acts of Parliament*, tho' I will not infer from thence that *Episcopacy* has not been likewise *National* time out of *Mind* in that *Antient Kingdom*, and tho' there should be (which no *True Protestant* could wish for) a *Disunion* of its *Church* from our *Ministry*. As for the *Ministers* here pointed at, and who are said to owe their *Grandeur* to the *Church* of *England's Protection*, no Man can be so hardy surely so much as to *Imagine* the *Noble Person* that is particularly touch'd in this *Paragraph*, made use of *Protests* and *Blessings* to bring *Heresy* into subjection to *Heterodox* *Enemies*. *Credat Judæis Apella-Non Ego*. He that is of *Incorrupted Principles* himself, will never lay *Baits* to seduce others; and who could refuse all offer'd *Advantages* when *Closed* in his own *Person*, would never offer to do *Violence* to the *Tempers* of others. If the *Gentlemen* who seem here to be mention'd were dismiss'd from *Attendance* at *Court*, must his *Loss* be the cause of it; As if no *Removal* can be made at *Court* but he must have a *Hand* in it, and there was no more *Concessions* and *Favours*, that could give them a *Cast out* of their *Office* but the *Loss of Temper*. Most *False* and *Ridiculous*! But

But, when contrary to these *Fears* they found the *Head* of the Ch——ch, and after Her *Example* the *Members* of it too, inclined not *only* to *Forgive*, but to *Forget* past *Injuries*, and that instead of *Punishment*, they meet not so much as a *Rebuke* or *Reproach*, but *Comfortable Speeches* and *Kind Assurances* from the Q——n Her Self, and *Good Countenance* from some of her Prime M——s. their *Spirits* were elated, in an instant the *Spirit* of *Humility* and *Pacification* vanish'd, their former *Insolence* and *Presumption* return'd upon 'em in full Force, and they began to *Challenge* and *Provoke* the Ch——ch as *boldly* as ever.

What signifies their having the *Will* without the *Power*? No one Questions but every one, of what *Perswasion* soever, would have his own *Opinion* uppermost, notwithstanding the *Review* and other *Publick Papers* seem to prefer the *Church Government* that is *National* to their own, therefore the *Fault* lies at their own *Door*, if the *Church Party* do not keep open their *Eyes*, and provide themselves against all *Spiritual* and *Temporal* *Invasions* whatsoever.

Thus far the *History* of their carriage towards the Ch——ch is *Publick* and *Recent*, as likewise are the *Advances* that have been made in their *Favour*, and the *Repulses* which the Ch——ch has met with. Every thing has past in Sc——nd to the *Desire* of the *Presbytery*, even to the *endangering* of the Ch——ch and Mon——hy of E——nd and the *Disserison* of its C——n, and the *immediate Prejudice* of its *Sovereignty*; but on the contrary *nothing* for the *Security* of the Ch——ch here; which cannot only boast it self to be a *Main Branch* of the *Civil Constitution*, but the *Prop* and *Support* of the whole *Frame* of *Government*; which remov'd, it must all necessarily fall to the *Ground*, as has been *once* fatally experimented. All attempts to settle it on a *Perpetual Foundation* have been *Oppos'd*, and render'd *Ineffectual* by M——rs, who owe their present *Grandeur* to its *Protection*, and who with a *Prevarication* as *Shameful* as their *Ingratitude*, pretend to *Vote* and *Speak* for it themselves, while they *Sollicite* and *Bribe* others with *Pensions*, and *Places*, to be against it. If —

were to be *Interrogated* upon *Oath*, what wrought this wondrous *Charge* in 'em? They wou'd Answer, that the L——T—— requir'd it of 'em, and that they held their *Places* by that *Tenure*.

N— J—, and If on the other hand the same *Enquiry* were made, E—s of R—, why the *Staves* were taken from the E—— of J—— Sir E——S——, why and Sir E—— S——? Or why so *Able* and *Faithful* *disgrace*.

ful a Minister as the E — of N — were exposed single to the Malice of a Faction, and he as well as the E — of R —, wearied out of his Post? It wou'd be found that they were *Inflexible Men*, *Opiniatres*, whose *Consciences* got the better of their *Places*, and wou'd not let 'em part with unseasonable *Principles*, whenever they grew out of Fashion at C — t: They adher'd firmly to the *Interests* of the Ch — ch, and by their steadiness *Reproach'd* those that *Debauch'd* the rest with want of *Principles* and *Ingratitude*.

' The sudden Death of the late K. was no small mortification to the Whig Party, who perhaps found him more Complaisant to them, than was consistent with the Promises He had made to their Antagonists at His Accession to the Throne; and if they Preach'd up *Charity* and *Peace* when they seem'd to be in a Declining Condition, it's no more than they have continued to do since by the Mouths of their two Lay Text Drivers, The *Review* and *Observers*, even while they think themselves at the Helm of Government, and are Guilty of such an Absurdity as to think the Government in their Interest.

It is hard to assign any *Plausible Reason* for this Conduct of the L — T —, that when his Story shall come to be Impartially written, it will hardly find *Belief* with *Posterity*; for it is scarce credible, that one who has the Reputation of a *Cunning Man*, shou'd desert his *Old Friends* and *Protectors*, with whose *Approbation* and *Good Will* he enjoyed the *Best Post* in the *Nation*; at a time when their Credit was at the *Highest*, while the *Heart* of the Queen was entirely with 'em, and while there was a perfect *Harmony* upon that Score between Her and the House of Commons, the greatest and most powerful Body in the *Nation*, and an universal *Satisfaction*, throughout the *Land* in the expected *Settlement* of the Ch — ch; and to sum up All, when neither the One Party had given him any *Provocation* to abandon 'em; and consequently not trusting to his Conversion, receiv'd him with an ill *Grace*, and have us'd him scurvily ever since.

' He that thinks his L — p does not deserve the *Reputation* of a *Cunning Man*, has no Title to that Character Himself, and without question He has his Reasons for what he does. To turn *Defector* is beneath a Gentleman of his Conduct and Intrepidity, and the Libeller seems to contradict Himself here, when he affirms, the Party he is gone over to, receiv'd Him with an *Ill Grace*, and have us'd him scurvily ever since; a way of Treatment, which is very Foreign to those Gentlemen's Behaviour, who being indefatigable in gaining Proselytes, use them with such Dexterity and Gentleness as may keep them firm in their Interest.

In this the Effect of S——d's Alliance appear'd. That *Tricking Statesman*, to whom *Treachery* was, thro' *Habit*, become almost as necessary as *Breathing*, cou'd not suffer his *New Relations* to make open and fair *Measures*, which had been more *Safe*, as well as more *Honourable*, and altogether as *Advantageous* to 'em, but by infusing into 'em a *Jealousy* of their Friends, endeavour'd by embarrassing 'em to render himself Necessary.

S——d's Alliance was not so very near, as to make this Noble P—— quit the *Measures* He had form'd before it was entred into, of doing what lay in his Power for the Good of the Church and State; since it is not to be suppos'd, so remote a Kindred, as having each of them a Son Marry'd two S——rs, could not be of Force enough to conceal the Impressions he had receiv'd, from a due sense of Honour and Conscience which he was very far from being a Stranger to.

Thus it's beliv'd L——T——, and D—— and D—— of M—— receiv'd the first *Warp*; at least 'tis more Honourable to lay the Fault there, and suppose 'em *Abus'd*, than to think they left the Cause, by which they had been rais'd out of *Levity of Temper*, or *Premeditated Treachery*: But however that was; being possess'd of the Q——ns Favour, they were resolv'd to admit no *Sharers* with 'em in it, not so much as the Ch——ch, lest that should draw after it the E——s of R—— and N——, with others, into more *Special Grace*, and closer Confidence with the Q—— than they approv'd. Yet, as it was neither *Safe* nor *Feasible*, so absolutely or immediately to wean the Q——n from the Ch——ch, as to keep those *Noble Persons*, and divers others, so far from Her as they desir'd; without keeping the Ch——ch at some distance; they amplified the *Numbers* of the *Dissenters*, and the *Danger* of disobliging 'em; and then by degrees fill'd her with *Apprehensions* of the *Mischievous* Heat and *Passion* of the Ch——chmen; and persuaded Her of the *Necessity* of withdrawing Her Countenance, and receiving 'em more *coldly*; till by degrees they drove almost all that adher'd firmly to the Ch——ch, from about Her *Person*. In the meantime, to fortify themselves against that *Odium*, which they foresaw they must necessarily incur, having all the *Places* of the *Nation* in their *Hands*, they employ'd 'em to *Debauch* indifferently, such of *Both Parties* as were *Members* of P——, and out of them to raise up a *Third*, which shou'd pretend to be *Neuters*, and depend upon them alone, and *Vote* and *Act* by their *Direction* only, without regard to any other *Engagement* or *Principle*.

Fear of Rivals
in the C——rs
favour, alie-
nates L——
M——, &c.
from the Intere-
sts of the
Ch——ch,

They Prejudice
the Q——n,

To

‘ To suppose these Three Noble Persons to *be abus’d* is to suppose them to *be weak*, for S—d, tho’ he was a Man of Deep Reach, had Persons of as Great Reach to deal with in the L—T— and D— of M— as himself; and to Imagine that any thing could be like premeditated T—ry in the Breasts of two Gentlemen, one of whom had preserv’d the E—pire, from Ruine, and the other E— and from turning B—rupt, is as Ridiculous as it is Impossible. Besides, our Author, makes the Q—n Accessary as it were to their Designs, for a L—y of Her Distinction could not but have Found what they Aim’d at, and frustrated their Intentions, had there been any such Thing as a Design against the C—ch in Agitation.

But as such Charges as these abruptly made, are Scandalous and Unpopular, and in the End generally Fatal to Min—rs of S—te, unless Varnisht over with some Specious Pretence to gull the People, and lull them into a false Security: Her M—’s Gracious Disposition and Inclination to render All Her People Happy and Contented, was laid hold of as a most Glorious Screen, and MODERATION was the Word, the Passpartout, that open’d all the Place Doors between the Lizzard Point in Cornwall, and the Town of Berwick upon Tweed. Immediately some Gentlemen who had made a handsome Figure, and render’d themselves Conspicuous to the whole Nation for their Zeal, grew as Moderate and Indifferent as an Usurer at a Discourse of Charity. They cou’d Vote For or Against any Bill, the same P—, the same Session, nay, if Occasion had been, the same Day. But this Moderation which triumph’d so in E—d, cou’d not be prevail’d upon to stir One Step over the Tweed. While our Men of Moderation yielded up every Point here, on Pretence of Tenderness for Erroneous Consciences, the Kirk there pursued their Blows; and having got the poor Episcopal Ch—ch down, laid on most unmercifully thick and heavy, in order to knock it effectually on the Head; and these Moderate Persons who would not suffer the Ch—ch of England so much as to assert it self here, were so far from offering their Mediation towards alleviating their Unjust Sufferings, that the Proceedings of their Enemies were encourag’d and inflam’d by Spontaneous Letters of Grace and Countenance; and when the poor Persecuted Clergy of that Kingdom, in the Anguish of their Souls, address’d for some Comfort and Relief under their Miseries, they were sent back with an Answer that had more of Reproof than Compassion in it, without hope of Remedy, and the more to Imbitter their Woes, befitting only Tumultuous Rioters, or Seditious Remonstrants.

‘ Moderation is grown a Word of Great Latitude (pray don’t imagine I mean the C—t Moderation for doubtless that is Apo-

B

‘ stolical

stolical and comes up to the Words of the Text that says, *Let your Moderation be known in all Things.* But the Moderation enjoy'd from the Th---ne, was the True Moderation, a direct Cementing of all Differences between one Fellow Subject and another. Peace at Home as it is in the Blessed Effects of it, not in Dr. D---ant's Book, and if we have perverted the Word we ought to be charg'd with a Breach of the R---al Injunction. It were to be wish'd some Expedient were to be found to suppress the Grievances of the E-----pal Clergy in S-----and, but he must bring his Account well attested, if the *Answer* that was was given to their A-----s, had more of *Reproof* than *Compassion* in it before I'll Credit it.

*Suspicious of
the Ch---ch
of E-----how
grounded.*

Those of the Ch --- ch that know the *Piety* and *Tenderness* of the Q --- n for all Her People and Her *Goodness* and inclination to *Charity*, as well as Her *special Zeal* for the Ch --- ch of E-----, can't believe that this sudden *Damp* upon it, and this seeming *Partiality* for the *Dissenters* can arise from any ordinary Cause, or from any thing less than a lively *Apprehension* of some very great *Danger*, as strongly as privately suggested to Her; especially when they consider their own firm Adherence to Her while only Pr-----, and their dutiful and affectionate Carriage towards Her ever since: But they plainly see by Her repeated *Cautions* in Her *Speeches*, by the *Conduct* of Her P-----at M-----rs, and by the *Obstructions* which every thing that has been advanc'd for the *Security* of the Ch --- ch, has met with from some Great Off----- of the C --- n, that she does not hold the same *Rank* in Her *Esteem* and *Confidence*, that it held heretofore; or that at least thro' the *Awe* of some *Party* or other, she dares not give 'em the wonted *Marks* of it. However, not being *Conscious* to themselves of any *Intemperate Behaviour* on their *Part* towards their *Neighbours*, or want of *Duty* or *Affection* to Her M-----, their *Representatives* having cheerfully supplied Her's, and the Nations *Wants*, and complied with all Her *Desires* (as far as they were inform'd of 'em) except in the Case of the Gr---t to the Duke of M-----; which, considering that his *Services* were then but in their *Infancy*, but just *Beginning*; that the Nation was at Great Charges for this *War*, and very much in *Debt* for the last; and that upon those *Two Accounts* they had very lately been forc'd to a *Resumption* of former *Grants*, they cou'd not think it proper to be done in a *Parliamentary* way at that time, tho' they did concur with the Q --- n in acknowledging his *Good Services*, and were very well satisfied that Her M----- shou'd extend Her *Royal Bounty* to him for 'em even then, and have since, in a most *Special* and *Honourable* manner recommended to Her futher Consideration his late *Great Services*; which shews that

that they never *Envied* or were *Unjust* to his *Merits*; or refractorily uncomplaisant with Her *Desires*; from all these Considerations they can't conceive that the Countenance of the C——rt towards them is alter'd by reason of any Misbehaviour of theirs, but upon some private Suggestions hitherto suppress.

' The Piety and Tenderness of the Q——n is so Conspicuous, Her regard to the Interest of the K——m so apparent, and Her Recommendations from the Th——e in Favour of the Establish'd Religion so fervent and moving in almost every Speech during Her Reign, that He must be worse than an Infidel, that renders Her cool and abated in her good Dispositions to the C——ch, since the majority of H——Great Officers of S——te, (viz.) the P——, the L——T——, the L——H——C——n, the L——C——n, the L——P——S, the Comp——r of Her——H——ld, &c. all Voted for the B——to prevent O——nal Con——ty last S——on. And though H——M—— holds the D——of M——deservedly in Her R——al Esteem for His Great Service, S——gives the Great Work of Devotion so much Preference to Him, that I cannot persuade my self, whatever the *Memorialist* may insinuate, any Suggestions against the Well-being of the Ch——ch which S——is the Honour and Ornament of, will be as much as Entertain'd by H——M——y.

Altho' from the frequent Inculcations of the Necessity of *Moderate Councils*, and from the repeated *Exhortations* from the Th——to *Peace* and *Union*, the Ch——ch-Men do find themselves almost as sensibly reproach'd with want of *Christian Charity*, and the true *Spirit of Peace*, as by the *Open Aspersions*, and *Defamatory Libels* of the *Dissenters* and their *Hirelings*, who under the Buffoon Nick-names of *High flying*, *Tantivy*, *Perkinnite*, &c. are employ'd to *Traduce* and *Banter* all *Care* of the present Constitution, *Ecclesiastical* or *Civil*; yet they are willing to bring their *Moderation* to the Test with any Ch——h, Congregation, or Religious Community whatsoever in the *Universe*, that has at any Time, or in any Country, been possess'd of so much Civil Power, as to give as fair and full *Proof* what they wou'd grant to those of other *Perswasions*, if they had themselves the *Power*, as what they *Demand* where they have it not. The *Independents* and *Presbyterians* formerly in En——d and Ir——l——d, The *Kirk* of Sc——d heretofore and at present; The *Anabaptists* at *Munster*, the *Lutherans* in divers Parts of *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, &c. The *Calvinists* in *Holland* and at *Geneva*. And the *Roman Catholicks* at several times almost all the World over, have in their respective Turns experimentally demonstrated by their Practice, that they will not endure a *Rival Church* in their Do-

Moderation of the Ch——h of E——d Asserted.

And compared with that of other Ch——es.

minions; and some of 'em (to which eight Parts in ten of the *English* Dissenters retain) thar they will not so much as *Tolerate* the Exercise of the Rites of a Dissenting Ch——ch, tho' in Subjection; And the *Quakers* (who never had Dominion any where, and therefore may make the strongest *Pretence* to *Moderation*) will not so much as lay out their *Money* with a *Tradesman* of another *Perswasion*, nor extend their Alliance, Commerce, or Charity beyond their *own Sect*; tho' kindly invited to it by others, especially the Ch——ch buying of them. From this Conduct, it is no *Uncharitable Presumption* to conclude, that the *Quakers* wou'd be as *Tenacious*, and *Uncommunicative* of *Power* (were they possess of it) as any other *Sect*.

The Ch——ch Men ought to consider what the Persons are that Reproach them with Want of Christian Charity, by perverting the Sense of H——M——ty's most Gracious Sp——es, before they Asperse other Gentlemen with it that are not Concern'd in those Defamatory Libels; and to Comfort themselves that the Nick-Names they are aggrieved at, only come from a Few Scandalous Party Scribes, whose Censures more conduce to the Churches Benefit than their Good Words. As for the Roman Catholicks, Calvinists, Lutherans, Anabaptists, &c. not suffering a Rival Church, in any Place where either of those Religions are Uppermost, neither does the Church of *England*; for I hope this Author who pretends such a Deference for Her Worship will not have so mean an Opinion of a Church that has been Settled by so many Acts of Parliament, as to affirm that a Parcel of Sectaries who Assemble together only upon *Sufferance*, and in Separate Congregations can fall der t he Name of being Her *Rivals*.

The Ch——ch of *E——d* then has Reason to *Resent* and be *Griev'd* at the *Misrepresentations*, that Mi——rs or others for private Ends make of Her best Friends to her M—— or the Publick; and they to regret the Loss of those favourable Regards which their constant, dutiful, and affectionate Behaviour might give 'em a just Expectation of; especially to lose 'em upon groundless *Surmises* and unfair *Insinuations*, that they have not *Temper* enough to bear their Felicity as they ought. Those that procure this *Coldness* towards the Ch——ch, pretend to deal with it, as they do by half Famish'd Persons, stint 'em in their Meals for fear they should Surfeit thro' over *Voraciousness*, tho' it is more to be fear'd, that like Knavish Guardians, they Curtail the Infant's Allowance, not so much to breed him Soberly, as to Cheat him the more largely in their Accounts; which for all their *Cunning*, may at some time or other undergo a *Severe Examination*. Had this want of *Temper* been

Unjust Mis-
representati-
ons justly to
be Resented,
and from
whom.

been suggested by the Profest or Suspected Adversaries of the Ch—ch, there had been nothing of *Wonder*, less of *Ingratitude* tho', not less *Injustice*. We have been used to bear their *Insolent*, *Unjust Clamour* with a Calmness of Temper unknown to any Ch—ch but ours, and which alone without any other Argument, is sufficient to evince the Unreasonableness and Falshood of their *Reproaches*, and wipe off all such *Slandorous Aspersions* at the very *Instant* they are cast upon us. But when our supposed Great Friends, *Asserters*, *Pastours* and pretended *Protectors*, by unnecessary Cautions and Reprehensions, give Countenance to the *Hardest Insinuations* of *Her Enemies*, it looks as if they would arrogate to themselves solely the whole *Merit* of the Ch—ch's visible *Moderation*, and thro' their *Artifices* leave *Her* still Supected of Invisible, Chimerical Designs of *Persecution*.

' If any Persons about H— M—ty's Person have been
' Guilty of these Misrepresentations, let them be Address'd against
' pursuant to the Antient Methods of Parliament; for to Poison
' the R—al Ear with Distrusts of H— M—ty's most
' Faithful Friends and S—ts, is a Crime of so great an Importance, that no Punishment can be too Great, and no M—ter
' of S—te though in never so great Credit with his S—aign
' too Powerful to be call'd to an Account for it. But to Point out
' Gentlemen only upon Suspicion, without Proof of the Fact
' (for C—tiers are close Men) is beneath the Dignity,
' Truth, and the Sincerity of a True Church-Man. For it be-
' hoves an Author to be well assur'd of the Matter in Dispute be-
' fore He commits it to Paper, and not to Rake into the Cha-
' racters of Great Men upon the Cry of any Party whatsoever,
' nothing in the World shall convince me, but such as Vote for
' the Church as my L—T— are in the Churches Interest.

Those that thus Treacherously now clog and damp
the Affairs of the Ch—ch plead the same Reasons *Trimmer's Ec-*
for their present Conduct, that the Selfish Tempo- *cuses.*
rizers of all *Ages* and *Nations* have ever done;
That the Times will not bear any other Measurerers; That
they are as hearty and firm to the Interests of the
Ch—ch as ever; but the Enemies of it are very *Vid. Pref. to*
Numerous, and *Powerful*, and must not be *Provoked* *Peace at Home*
at this Juncture; That the Q— must have the *and War A-*
Hearts of all *Her People*, and in order to it give e- *broad and Ef-*
qual *Encouragement* to all *Her Loving Subjects* with- *say xi.*
out Distinction of *Parties*; That the *Old Seditious*,
Rebellious Race of F—cks and Wh— is extinct, and their
Leaven worn out; and that they who Inherit at present their A-
version to the Ch—ch of *En—d*, have none at all to the Civil
St—e; but are as Affectionate and Loyal as the best Ch—

m — n of 'em all; That the Impatience of the Ch — ch to be Secured, may endanger many fine Schemes, which these *Politicians* have laid, and which they will Communicate, when and to whom they see proper; That to take away
Id. Eff. xi. from Men by Law the convenient Privilege of being of both sides, of Traversing from one another as they see it most for their Profit, of Inverting pretended Zeal to downright Hypocrisy, of playing Fast and Loose; and being against us in Principle, and with us for Advantage, is, or at least looks like, a sort of Persecution.

As for the Reasons laid down for such pretended Prevarications, these are only Dr. D — nts, which does not Affect the Person Pointed at. But Dr. D — nt was prefer'd by this Gentleman, and consequently must be of this Gentleman's Temper I warrant him. Did the Dr. lay down these Maxim's for his L — p's Words or his own. *That the Times will not bear other Measures, that the Enemies of the Church are very Numerous and Powerful, and must not be provok'd at this Juncture, that the Q — n must have the Hearts of all Her People, &c.* If for his own, we are to leave them with him as the Person only responsible for them, not Charge 'em upon a Gentleman who did the Worst thing as ever I heard of him, in preferring a Man that was Master of such Lukewarm Principles, and Inconsistent with his Practices and Writings when on the other side of Preferment. But Twelve Hundred Pounds per Annum is a pretty Convenient Post, and has equip'd Him so, that he has no need of wasting the Acidity that belong'd to his Temper for want of Wine Vinegar.

To all these Trimming Excuses, or Shifts rather, 'tis easie to give such short Answers, as the intended Limits of this Paper will allow.

This no im- 1st. To the Inexpediency of the Time, it may
proper time be Answer'd, That in all dangerous *Distempers* of the State, as in *Acute Diseases* of the Body, the earliest Applications, if in their own Nature simply Proper, are the Best; and he that defers the Remedy under Pretence of waiting for a Crisis, Betrays the Patient to the Danger of being lost thro' the Malignity of the *Distemper*. The last War was Judg'd by Many an Inconvenient and Hazardous Time to Rectify our Coin in; yet the Event has shewn, that the certain *Mischiefs* of the Delay wou'd have been much Greater, than the *Hazards* from the Immediate Remedy of Re-coining, notwithstanding the Loss amounted to several Millions more than the Nearest Guessees calculated it at: For all Growing *Maladies* are render'd more Dangerous and Difficult of Cure by Delay. The *Objections* to Remedying the *Evils* of our Coin then were very Plausible;

Plausible, The *Nation* was Deeply in Debt, and the Expences of the War were very Great; to which, adding the Insatiable *Rapaciousness* of some then in *Power*, and the General Corruption of the *Managers* of our Revenue (As Chargeable perhaps to the *Nation* as the *War*) which Aw'd 'em from Controlling the *Abuses* of others, for Fear of having their *own Inspected*; it seem'd justly to be Fear'd that such a *Diminution* in Tale of the Species of Money, wou'd scarce leave us enough to Serve our *Home-Necessities*, much less our *Foreign Trade*, and those of the *War Abroad*; But the Experiment shew'd us Capable of Bearing *Stronger Remedies*, than we Suspected, as 'tis probable we still are.

' Distempers in the State, and in the Body, are diffrent: ' Besides tho' a Patient may be lost while the Physician stays ' till the Distemper come to a Crisis, yet more have been sent ' into another World by an Over hastiness in applying Medicaments. The State of our Coyn and that of our Religion, have ' no Agreement or Likeness with another; for the Current ' Species was so very much Adulterated in those Times, such a ' Confusion in Trade arose from it, and such Animosities got Head ' among the Subjects through the Diminution of one Peice of ' Money, and the Baseness of the other; that we were Driven ' to the last Extremity, and forc'd to make use of the *Dernier* ' *Resort of Immedicabile Vulnus Ense Rescendum est ne Pars* ' *sincera trahatur*, which happily succeeded contrary to expectation, and stop'd the Mutinies of the Discontented. But Heav'n's ' be prais'd, Things are not come to that desperate Condition, ' yet in Religious Matters, and not only the Health of the ' Q—n, but Her Disposition to secure the Church of *England* ' to Posterity, promise the Church all Manner of Satisfaction, as ' to the case of a further establishment, tho' I could have wish'd ' what we have Reason to expect, it had been effected when last ' under the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament.

But what had we to fear from the *Remedy* propos'd by the Honourable H—se of Co—ns for our *Factions*? The *Dis—rs* wou'd have been Disoblig'd; which for once we will suppose, but can't grant: What is it the Publick wants from 'em?

*Sullenness of
the Dis—
rs not
dangerous.*

The Assistance of their Hands and their Purse.

The first of these we have not: For our *Fleets* are Mann'd and our *Armies* formed of such as can Conform to the Service of the Ch—ch; and if All were turn'd out of 'em, who wou'd not, we should not miss a 6th Rate's Crew, or a Single Company out of Both; and the latter being Impos'd by the *Legislative Authority*, they cou'd not refuse; unless they would Rebel, which their Advocates deny. But they are *Rich*, and might Re-
fuse

fuse to Lend their Money to the *Government* upon *Parliamentary Security*. This is a weak Shift: For while the Government gives good Interest and makes due Payments, they are not so *Sullen*, or *Blind* to their own Advantage, as not to take its Money, especially while the Returns of Trade are so Hazardous and Uncertain. What then is the great Inconvenience that *Awes* and *Warps* our Great M——rs thus? Why, says a Learned Author, Her

The Ch——ch M——y would not have the *Hearts* of all her Subjects. We could wish his *Politicks* cou'd furnish an Expedient, by which she might have 'em All. *no to be too* But if the *Dis——t——rs* will be Disoblig'd, if they *far provoked.* are not put in Place and Authority; and the Ch——ch

of E—— will be Disoblig'd if they are; whence may the greatest Inconvenience arise? Perhaps our Wise Men think themselves Secure in the *Passive Principles* of the Ch——ch against any Resentments on that Side, and therefore bend all their Application to gain t'other, whose *Temper* and *Principles* are more Mutinous. If this be their true Motive, they may be simple, well-meaning Men, but must be wretched Politicians. The Principles of the Ch——ch of E—— will dispose Men to bear a great deal; but he's a Madman that tries how much. For when Men are very much provok'd, Nature is very apt to Rebel against Principle, and then the Odds are vast on Nature's side. Whether the *Provocations* given to the Ch——ch of E—— may not, if continued, be strong enough to rouse Nature, some of our Statesmen would do well to Consider in time. For tho' the Ch——ch is not to be wrought up to Rebellion, yet they may be so Alarm'd as to Secure themselves at the Peril of those M——rs who give them the Alarm. Nor is it to be expected, that they should long bear to be thus us'd, and see a Party, that they know seek their Ruine, Courted at their Expence. But the T—— is wise, let him therefore look to that; and Maturely weigh who are to be Provok'd at this Juncture.

' That the Dissenters have a very great Respect for their own Interest, and would lend the G——ment Money, without any other Consideration than the Great Interest given by the T——ry is uncontrovertible, and I must agree with him, that Her M—— has more of their Pounds than their Hearts, for She came of a Family which they have no manner of Affection for. And I must also allow that the Doctrines of the Church of *England* don't Teach its Followers to *Rebel*, but yet that they are not so strict upon them with the Laws of Obedience, as not to suffer them to call subordinate M——ters to an Account, especially such as are Guilty of such Important Mis——s as seem to be complain'd of in this Memorial. As for the T—— the Author mistakes his Character to all Intents and Purposes; for if he be not a True Churchman, then the

the A — B — of C — Himself is a Dissenter, which is an Assertion no Man Breathing dare to charge his G — with.

But all Parties, they say, must be Encourag'd without Distinction. Why so? Are Friends or Enemies, Affectionate or Disaffected, Trusty or Treacherous, Equally and Indifferently to be Esteem'd? Have the Fa — n — t — cks at any time been such hearty Friends to the C — n and Ch — ch, as now to be Reasonably trusted with the Guardianship of 'em? But to fling the Ch — ch as far out of the Question, as some M — rs have out of their Regards; Are there no Reliques of the *Old Republican Leaven*? The *Scripture* tells us that a very *Little* will serve to put the *Whole Mass* into a *Ferment*: Is it Demonstrable, that they who Affect a *Parity*, a *Republican Model* in the *Hierarchy*, would not like the same *Scheme* of *Civil Government*? Are we very sure, that they who *Ill Treated* and *Bespuiter'd* the Pr — ss, and hoped, that She never should Reign, are grown sincerely Fond of the Q — n, and heartily Glad, that She does Reign? Are not such sudden and simple Conversions of the Will somewhat Suspicious? And may we not without Oppression or Persecution be Fearful of committing Power to Suspected Hands? But to push our Inquiries no farther at this time, when these Questions are fairly and fully Answered, We shall know more Reasons than one, why some Persons Voted for a certain Bill, at the same time that they Solicited and made others Vote against it.

I presume, the intent of that Advice (if there was any such given) was that the Loyal Subjects of all Persuasions should be encourag'd without Distinction, tho' the Doctor for his Part is for Universal Admission, I could wish with the same sincerity as the Lame and the Blind were in the *Scripture*, and is, for taking all as they come into H — M — 's Favour whether Loyal or Disloyal; So that those who reflected upon H — M — when Pr —, made it among the most earnest of their Wishes, that She should never come to the Cr — n, and solicited all Persons that could obstruct so happy a R — ion to interpose their *Malign* Interests to prevent it, are to share with H — Best Friends, in the Bounties of H — Ad — nist — on. A piece of Policy that Her R — l Predecessors has suffer'd for, and ought not to be Preacht up at a Time of the Day when more Noble Expectations are in view.

As for the Learned Dr's Persecution Argument; if it be *Persecution* to take away the Trade of *Hoccus Pocussing*, and playing *Fast* and *Loose* with *Religion*, We answer, that *Persecution* then is, (as it happens) the very Band and Cement of all Government, For if diverse Persons were not almost daily Persecuted at certain Places call'd *Old Bailies*, We should neither See

Prohibiting
Occasional
Conformity to
false Persecution.

Walk, nor Ride in Safety; and the Gentlemen-Divers may as justly complain of the Laws, that takes from 'em the *Convenient Privilege* of putting their Hands into other Men's Pockets; for if taking away the Benefit of *Hypocrisy* be *Persecution*, Hanging for Picking a Pocket is undoubtedly *Martyrdom*; surely those that Argue at this idle rate, have never consider'd the Nature of *Civil Trust*. It is not any Man's *Birth-right* (as some Advocates for *Spiritual Juggling* have vainly pretended) but the Result of the Confidence the *Government* has in our *Merit* and *Fidelity*; He, that Confers a *Trust*, may do it upon what *Terms* he pleases; Because 'tis a Matter of *Grace*, not of *Right*, and we are at Liberty to Refuse it if we do not like the Conditions. If therefore any Persons have so Behaved themselves, or *Own* such *Principles*, that the *Government* can't without danger Confide in 'em, the Legislative Power is bound in Duty to the *Present* as well as *Future time*, to disable 'em from doing *Mischief*, by excluding 'em from Power. Nor can the Persons so excluded with more Justice Complain of the Government, than of a Man that refuses to lend 'em Money without Security. But, if the Borrower has been before *Notorious* for *Frauds* or *Collusive Failures*, 'tis Impudence in him to press the Loan, and would be Stupidity and Madness in any one to Trust him without Sufficient Security: Yet this is the Case between the *Dis-t-rs* and the *Ch-ch* and *G-nt* of *E-d*, That the *Dis-t-rs* have always Abused the Trust and Power they have been admitted to, is evident from the Experience we had of 'em in the times of King *Charles the First*, and King *James the Second*. In the first *Instance* they actually procur'd the *Subversion* of *Ch-ch* and *S-te* against the King, in the latter they voluntarily offer'd to Sacrifice the Laws and Immunities of 'em to him. In both these Cases they pretended Conscience; and the *Ch-ch* and *G-nt* of *E-d* have Reason to use all possible Precaution against admitting such Persons into Trust, as can plead Conscience for the Breach of it.

' If the Dissenters have never had any Trust repos'd in them, but what they have abus'd, it does not follow from thence but they may be Men of *Fidelity* at last; for a Sinner may run on to a long length of Wickedness, and yet end the Stage of Life with such an Eminent Example, as may rather Invite than Deter People from the Practice of it; And tho' they have abus'd the *Trust and Power they have been admitted to*, in the Times of King *Charles the 1st*, and King *James the 2d*, (I might say all the *English Monarchs* since *Hypocrisy* has been in Being, and *Puritanism* has chang'd its Name into so many different Acceptations) tho' they would have sacrific'd the *L--s* and all our *Im--ties* to a certain *P--e's Will* under the Notion of being Conscientious, *what has been, may not be*, and the most Prophetical Gentleman in the Nation, not even *CHRO-*
N O L G Y

‘ NO LOG Y Himself can pretend to make out the contrary.

The Bill again *Occasional Conformity*, excluding none but Obstinate Dis—t—rs from Offices of Trust and Profit, was a Security highly Reasonable and Necessary at this time. For as the Practices, so the present Principle of that Sort of Men give us too just Grounds to be Jealous of their Intentions towards us. The *Episcopal Ch—ch* of E—d, as by Law Establish’d, is a Great Necessary Branch of our Constitution, and we are in Duty bound to Preserve it, which it will be very Hard to do without some more Explicite Law, than any yet in Force to prevent the Invasions of *Sectarians*, and their Abettors upon it. For besides the Scandalous *Equivocation* of *Occasional Conformity*, by another *Jesuitical* Shift, they now openly Stile Themselves the *Ch—ch* of E—d by Law Establish’d; and so pretend not only to Evade the Force of all that is or shall be Enacted in Favour of the *Ch—ch* under that Stile, but lay Claim to, and perhaps in time may Arrogate Solely to themselves the *Privilege*, and fix upon the *Ch—ch* the Penalties of those Discriminating Acts. This Fear is render’d the more Reasonable by our Observation, that the *Socinians*, and all other *Latitudinarians* in Religion, who are known not to Act upon any Principle of Conscience, do Notoriously and Avowedly Abett, and Support ’em in all their Practices and Pretensions against the C—, and that thro’ their Contrivance, and Assistance they are become more Formidable, than from any Strength in themselves. Not that the *Socinians* or *Latitudinarians* have in Reality more Kindness for the *Dissenters* than for the Church: but because they hope, that if with their Help they could pull down the Church, they should be able successively to destroy them thro’ their own Divisions, and Triumph severally over ’em all. For whatever Figure the whole Mass of Dis—t—rs, taken Indiscriminately together, and in the Aggregate may make, yet separated and ranged apart, under their proper distinct Classes, they wou’d appear Contemptible either for Number or Quality, compared with the *Ch—ch* of E—d. And how much Harmony soever may by some be fancied to be among the several Sorts of e’m, they will scarce be found to be united in any thing, but their Envy, and froward Opposition to the Established *Ch—ch*; so that could the *Deists*, *Socinians* and *Latitudinarians*, with their Help pull down the *Ch—ch*, it would be no Hard Task to manage them into the Destruction of one another.

‘ The Bill excludes none but Obstinate Dissenters, but the *Moderation-mongers* are pinch’d by it; for tho’ the Episcopal Church of England, as a Great and Necessary part of our Constitution, and none but such as are in its Communion are to be admitted into any Places of Trust, yet this *Occasional Conformity*

Bill against it
why reason-
able and neces-
sary at this
Time.

Socinians
and Latudi-
narians Ene-
mies to the
Ch—ch &
this Bill.

has so play'd its part of late, as not only to get into the C——y Chair, Ride the S——ff's *Caparison'd Horse*, and talk like a Serjeant at Law on a Bench of Justice. To add to all, these very Dissenters close in with the *Socinians* and *Latitudinarians*, just as the vilest of Sinners do with the Church of *Rome* for a longer Time to repent, that is to *make more work for Repentance in*. Not that He says, they are their Friends, but as any Man may explain it for him, they'd soon have recourse to *France* and *Spain*, call in the Pope and the Great Turk, rather than own themselves oblig'd to a Church that would rescue them from the Jaws of Destruction, and Extends Her Arms to receive such as come with a *Lowly and Upright Heart* into Her Sacred Communion.

The *Dis-t-rs* themselves (those especially who are Masters of a Moderate Degree of Discernment) are not so silly as to imagine, that those Persons, who have of late put themselves at the Head of their Quarrel, do it out of any Conscientious Liking of their *Doctrines* and manner of *Worship*, or that they whom *Wantonness*, *Unbelief*, or *Faction*, have rendered impatient of the Discipline of the Ch——ch of E——d, and who condemn a Polity so Candid and Easy to the *Laiety*, as meer *Priestcraft*, can ever be brought to submit to the *Sowre-Rules*, and Saucy-Encroachments of *Edinburg* and *Geneva*. They know very well, that to be free from all Discipline and Moral Restraint is the sole Aim of some, by the Subversion of the Ch——ch; to make way for the Civil Constitution, is that of others; while to make a *Noise* and a *Bustle*, and render *Themselves* Considerable by *Faction*, is the *Design* of most; and that by *Ballancing* of *Parties* to Curb one with to'ther, and Cheat and Domineer over 'em all, is the Drift of the M——rs: yet since thro' their ruine of the C——ch lies the Common Road to all their Ends, even the D——l's hand is welcom to help to pull it down. The Godly may court and embrace the Assistance and Patronage of the Wicked towards so Pious a Work; and let the Censorious World say what it will, in Spite of *S-d-my*, *Ad-l-ry*, *P——x*, or *Pr——f——ness*, *S——nd-d* shall be a Saint; and *S——rs*, *Wh——n*, and *H——x* Prophets, Martyrs, and Apostles.

It makes not whether the Dissenters know whether the Gentlemen, that have taken them into their Protection, do stand by the Cause they have espous'd out of a Principle of Honour, Religion, or Loyalty, or have Christen'd themselves the Heads of the Party upon any other Motive. That they are so, is enough to Embroil A——rs, which is their Chief Felicity, for they are Fish that love to dwell in Troubled Water, and a Storm and Tempest is more Profitable to the Men of Deal than a Calm. As for Particularizing Crimes, such as this Paragraph ends

ends in, all Men of Temper should avoid it, for let him cast the Stone first that is Innocent, and God knows we shall not be to seek for Criminals of this Nature among the Pretenders to Sanctity in both Communions.

But tho' many of the Dissenters may like very well the Design of pulling down, not only the Church, but the State too; yet even these (if they have or pretend to have any Interest in any sort of Religion) would do wisely to Examine what they should be the Better for Success against the Church, and what Religion, or whether any would be Uppermost; if these pretended Champions of theirs should prevail and put us into all the Confusion they Aim at, They may assure themselves, that these Gentlemen do not think Dominion founded in Grace, and would very hardly be brought under *Spiritual Direction*. And tho' for Fashion-sake some Religion or other should be thought Necessary, it would be to cover foul Practices, prevent Unreparable Discoveries. But at the Best, but one of all our Numerous Sects could obtain to be the *National Church*, and whether that One would Tolerate the Rest; as, the Church of England now does them All, is a Doubt, that would puzzle the Wisest of them to resolve. However it is plain that but one could be a Gainer, and it is pretty Apparent as well from past Experience, as from the Nature of the thing, that when Men's Spirits are Heated with the fierce Contention and Struggle, (which must necessarily arise before such a Change can be wrought) and pufft up with the Pride of Success, they are apt to grow more Assuaging, and to be less Indulgent to the Humours and Opinions of Others, than those whom long Quiet and little Opposition, have suffered to settle into more Security and better Temper. Besides, as no Sect or Sort of Christians whatsoever can Boast of so Extensive a Charity, and so good Natured a Discipline, it cannot be the Interest of any Sect to Change her Government for any other.

That Dominion is founded in Grace is held among the Predeterminarians for a Receiv'd Truth, but that the Best Men must always be uppermost, we never heard in the Most Anarchical and Confus'd Governments: So that we must agree with the Arians, That they will not be brought under a *Spiritual Direction*. However to prevent Heats and Animosities, it may not be distant from our Purpose, to give the best Construction of their Intentions as can be given, and so manage our selves in Relation to these Misted Creatures (for so they have had the Misfortune to be fill'd from the Temple) as to shew that the Church of England's Charity, is as truly Extensive as it is Represented to be.

Yet,

has so play'd its part of late, as not only to get into the C — y Chair, Ride the S — ff's *Caparison'd Horse*, and talk like a *Serjeant at Law* on a Bench of Justice. To add to all, these very Dissenters close in with the *Socinians* and *Latitudinarians*, just as the vilest of Sinners do with the Church of *Rome* for a longer Time to repent, that is to *make more work for Repentance* in. Not that He says, they are their Friends, but as any Man may explain it for him, they'd soon have recourse to *France* and *Spain*, call in the Pope and the Great Turk, rather than own themselves oblig'd to a Church that would rescue them from the Jaws of Destruction, and Extends Her Arms to receive such as come with a *Lowly and Upright Heart* into Her Sacred Communion.

The *Dis-t-rs* themselves (those especially who are Masters of a Moderate Degree of Discernment) are not so silly as to imagine, that those Persons, who have of late put themselves at the Head of their Quarrel, do it out of any Conscientious Liking of their *Doctrines* and manner of *Worship*, or that they whom *Wantonness*, *Unbelief*, or *Faction*, have rendred Impatient of the Discipline of the Ch — ch of E — d, and who Condemn a Polity so Candid and Easy to the *Lazzy*, as meer *Priestcraft*, can ever be brought to submit to the Sowre-Rules, and Saucy-Encroachments of *Edinburg* and *Geneva*. They know very well, that to be free from all Discipline and Moral Restraint is the sole Aim of some, by the Subversion of the Ch — ch; to make way for the Civil Constitution, is that of others; while to make a *Noise* and a *Rustle*, and render *Themselves* Considerable by *Faction*, is the *Design* of most; and that by *Ballancing* of *Parties* to Curb one with to'ther, and Cheat and Domineer over 'em all, is the Drift of the M — rs: yet since thro' their ruine of the C — ch lies the Common Road to all their Ends, even the D — l's hand is welcom to help to pull it down. The Godly may court and embrace the Assistance and Patronage of the Wicked towards so Pious a Work; and let the Censorious World say what it will, in Spite of *S-d-my*, *Ad-l-ry*, *P — x*, or *Pr — f — nefs*, *S — nd-d* shall be a Saint; and *S — rs*, *Wh — n*, and *H — x* Prophets, Martyrs, and Apostles.

It makes not whether the Dissenters know whether the Gentlemen, that have taken them into their Protection, do stand by the Cause they have espous'd out of a Principle of Honour, Religion, or Loyalty, or have Christen'd themselves the Heads of the Party upon any other Motive. That they are so, is enough to Embroil A — rs, which is their Chief Felicity, for they are Fish that love to dwell in Troubled Water, and a Storm and Tempest is more Profitable to the Men of Deal than a Calm. As for Particularizing Crimes, such as this Paragraph ends

ends in, all Men of Temper should avoid it, for let him cast
 the Stone first that is Innocent, and God knows we shall not be
 to seek for Criminals of this Nature among the Pretenders to
 Sanctity in both Communions.

But tho' many of the D — s — ters may like very well the Design of pulling down, not only the Ch — ch, but the St — te too; yet even these (if they have or pretend to have any Interest in any sort of Religion) would do wisely to Examine what they should be the Better for Success against the Ch — ch, and what Religion, or whether any would be Uppermost; if these pretended Champions of theirs should prevail and put us into all the Confusion they Aim at, They may assure themselves, that these Gentlemen do not think Dominion founded in Grace, and would very hardly be brought under *Spiritual Direction*. And tho' for Fashion-sake some Religion or other should be thought Necessary, it would be to cover foul Practices, prevent Unreputable Discoveries. But at the Best, but one of all our Numerous Sects could obtain to be the *National Church*, and whether that One would Tolerate the Rest; as, the Ch — ch of E — d now does them All, is a Doubt, that would puzzle the Wisest of them to resolve. However it is plain that but one could be a *Gainer*, and it is pretty Apparent as well from past Experience, as from the Nature of the thing, that when Men's Spirits are Heated with the fierce Contention and Struggle, (which must necessarily arise before such a Change can be wrought) and pufft up with the Pride of Success, they are apt to grow more Assuming, and to be less Indulgent to the Humours and Opinions of Others, than those whom long Quiet and little Opposition, have suffered to settle into more Security and better Temper. Besides, as no Sect or Sort of *Christians* whatsoever can Boast of so Extensive a *Charity*, and so good Natured a *Discipline*, it cannot be the Interest of any Sect to Change her Government for any other.

That *Dominion is founded in Grace* is held among the Predestinarians for a Receiv'd Truth, but that the Best Men must always be uppermost, we never heard in the Most Anarchical and Confus'd Governments: So that we must agree with the A — r, That they will not be brought under a *Spiritual Direction*. However to prevent Heats and Animosities, it may not be distant from our Purpose, to give the best Construction of their Intentions as can be given, and so manage our selves in Relation to these *Mixed* Creatures (for so they have had the Misfortune to be mix'd from the T — e) as to shew that the Church of *England's* Charity, is as truly Extensive as it is Represented to be.

Yet, tho' it be not the *Interest* of the *Dis-*
set it is their *t—rs* in General to Pull down the *Ch—ch*,
Design. since it is Manifestly their Design, it behoves All,
 that are *Of* and *For* the *Ch—ch*, to watch their
 Motions narrowly. And perhaps the wisest *Step* the Friends of
 the *Ch—ch* could take towards Her Security, would be to
 Distinguish Nicely between *Those* that are *Of* the *Ch—ch* only,
 and *Those* that are both *Of* and *For* the *Ch—ch*. For we have
 lived to that Unhappy Time, in which *Men* dare not only Pre-
 tend to be of the *Ch—ch*, but (to the Shame of our Clergy be
 it said) dare receive their *Bread* from It; nay and creep into
 Its Highest Dignities, and yet Oppose Its Security; and Sacrifice
 all Its Interests to their own *Farther expectations*, and the *In-*
trigues of *Crafty Ministers*; and so far as the Corruption spread,
 that *Lawn Sleeves* are become no sure Sign of a Church Man.

All Men do not always pursue their own Interest, which is
 manifest from the Habitual Security that has crept in among
 the Church Party, therefore tho' we have no reason to blame
 the Dissenters for making any open Attempts against us, I must
 own it behoves us to be upon the Watch lest they may. A
 Faithful Sentinel keeps to the Duties of his Post, tho' the situa-
 tion of Affairs may provide him with Arguments for being se-
 cure and careless as to the Designs of an Enemy; but *what has*
been may be, as well as *may not be*, and many Out-Guards have
 been surpriz'd before they could give the Signal, which is an
 Argument for our Precaution. Not that I can be induc'd to
 suppose that it's possible for any Muzlin Elder to creep into the
 Hie—chy, but *GIBEONITES* have been in all Ages,
 and we are not come so near to the Church of *Rome*, how ma-
 liciously soever our Enemies Asperse us, as to Gift them with
 Infallibility.

Abundance of *Knavish Pains* have been taken to
 Divide the *Ch—ch* into *High* and *Low*; and some
 even of the *Ecclesiasticks* have been so Foolish, as to
 go into that Dangerous Distinction, Contriv'd by
 their *Enemies*, on Purpose to Divide and Set 'em to-
 gether by the Ears. If the Strict Observation of
 the *Rubrick* and *Canons* Denominates a Man a
High-Ch-ch-Men, every Presbyter of the *Ch—ch*
 of *E—d*, is, or ought to be a *High-Ch-ch—Man*. For
 no private Min—r, or single Prelate of the *Ch—ch*, nay,
 no Number of 'em how Great soever, can or ought, unless,
 according to the Legal Stated Form and Manner of Doing such
 things) to Dispense with or alter the Rules and Orders of the *Ch—ch*,
 which they have upon the *Sacrament* Sworn, and Promised under
 their Hand to Obey: But if there be any so Hardy and Conceited
 of their own Gifts, Lights and Prudence, as to Dispense with what
 the *Ch—ch* has Enjoyn'd in the Performance of their Office, as
 Priests

Division of
 the *Ch—chmen*
 into High
 and Low
 groundless
 and Knavish.

Priests or Bishops, their Presumption therein is so far from being Commendable, as the Result of *Moderation*, that it Involves 'em in the Guilt of Contumacy, Schism, and Wilfull Habitual P — j — ry, Crimes of so black a Dye, that We hope none of the Cl — gy are Chargeable with 'em. The *Division* therefore of our Ch — (especially our Cl — gy) into *High* and *Low*, is Impertinent and Groundless; or if not, it Brands the Low Ch — ch-Man with a Character so Infamous, that sure no Presbyter or Deacon of the Ch — ch would render Synonymous to what they call a *High-Church-Man*) it is cast upon them by those only, who would be contented to make as well as call them *Papists*, that the Ruine of the Ch — ch can be so abandoned to Shame as to own. As for the Reproach of being a *Ch — ch-Papist*: a Term which the Enemies of the Ch — ch of E — d, the Great Bulwark as well against *Pope* *Fanaticism*, might be the consequence of it; and of this we had the dangerous Experience in a late Reign, when the Ch — ch of E — d alone Defended the *Protestant Religion* against *Popery*; while those, that now pretend to Merit by Saucy Bawling, joyned with the *Papists* to set it up, in Opposition to the Ch — ch and the Laws; of which their Numerous Addresses of that Time remain a lasting Record under their Hands to all Posterity. We may therefore safely conclude in the Words of a certain Prelate with a small Addition, *That we know no High-Church-Man but the Pope, nor no Low-Church Man but the Fanaticks and their Abettors.* But if any True Sons of the Ch — ch shall under the Notion of *Moderation*, suffer themselves to be misled into that dangerous Distinction, and joyn the Enemies of the Ch — ch under the Disguise of *Low-Ch — ch Men*, the time may soon come, when they may be convinced of their fatal Error, and become as *High Ch — ch Men*, as the highest in E — d, when it may be too late; and among these we fear to see some Reverend Persons of a certain B — that shall here be Nameless. For when by our Stupid, over-weening Security, Indulgence and Easiness shall have given our watchful industrious Enemies the same Advantages against Us, which they have obtained against our Sister Ch — ch of Sc — il — d, it may be too late to fly to the Th — in our Distress; the M — rs may be Cowardly or Treacherous; or heartily in the Intrigue against us; and the C — it self may be Timorous, ill Advised, unwilling, or unable to Relieve us. What has been may be, it has been once our Case, is now the Case of our Brethren in Sc — il — d, and may be ours again, if we do not take care to keep it out of the Power of these Moderate *Low Ch — ch Men*, either thro Weakness to give us up, or thro' Covetousness and Ambition to sell us to those, whom we have found at all times dispos'd to purchase our Ruin at any Rate, and perhaps never more than at this Juncture.

‘ The Division of the Church into the Invidious Distinctions of

' *High and Low* is Knavery to the last Degree, and the sole Act and Deed of the Dissenters to disunite, which they must be foolish Ecclesiasticks indeed, that cannot perceive. A strict Observation of the Rubrick and Canons is enough to get a Man the Name of a High Churchman, tho' they'll tell us, they mean no such Thing, and that it's the *Tammy Men*, those that profess the Doctrines of Passive Obedience, &c. who fall under that odious and unpopular Denomination. However, let the Name they asperse the Establish'd Church with, be never so disagreeable to Men of Heat and Malignancy, Men that are inflam'd with more violent Passions than they pretend the Professors of True Moderation are posses'd with, it is the Duty of every Man to persevere to the last, to live up to the Doctrines and Precepts of Christ and his Disciples, upon which Foundation the Church of England stands fix'd as upon a Rock. Tempests may dash against Her, and Storms threaten Her, yet there is no room for Despondency; An Union between Persons of the same Evangelical Communion, will defeat all Her Enemies Measures, and make the Projects of those who would purchase our Ruine fall short of their Calculations.

But 'tis whisper'd among us (as so great a Secret ought to be) *That the L—T— does not in his Heart care a Farthing for the F—cks and Wh—gs; (which we believe) That he is at the bottom a fast Friend to the Ch—ch, and has Designs very much to the Benefit and Advantage of it, (which we crave leave to doubt) if the Ch—ch wou'd have Patience, and wait the proper time for the Execution of 'em: That the Q— is really well and zealously principled and intention'd toward the Ch—ch (which we firmly believe and are satisfy'd in) and wou'd readily concur in anything just and seasonable for its Service and Security.* Admitting all this to be True, that not only the Q— is in her own Person Zealous for the Welfare of the Ch—ch, of which she is the Visible Head; but that all and every individual M—r, or Person in Credit about Her is solicitous and vigilant for the same Good End, yet they are but Men, and consequently fallible in their Measures, which is the Point to which we shall at present speak a few Words.

' To asperse any Gentleman under the pretence of its being *Whisper'd about*, is beneath the Demeanour of a True Son of the Church, especially so great a Name as is here Aim'd at. Our Enemies stand in need of those little Subterfuges, and have recourse to malicious Insinuations, when they care not openly declare themselves. But we are not to follow 'em in this Example, The T— is an Assur'd Friend to the Ch—h, the Q—n confides in Him for that Reason, and we have no manner of Grounds to doubt the Consequence of what He is daily in Consultation for, since it must tend in a large Security for the Church and State.

It

It is on all Hands agreed, that the Ch—ch of E——d never had more reason to expect a perpetual Establishment, than under Her present Majesty. The late K—g was a Foreigner, educated out of the Pale of our Ch—ch, and 'tis probable the next may be so too. It can't be expected that such P——s, however Generous, Good and Gracious, shou'd come over with an extraordinary tenderness or regard for a Ch—ch, to the very Principles, Discipline and Constitution of which, they may probably be great Strangers. But it may 'o happen (as it already has) that thro' the Misrepresentations of Designing Men, such Princes may be abused in the Character of the Ch—ch it self, and much more of the Ch——ch M—n, for want of a sufficient personal Knowledge of 'em, and so be misled to place their Confidence, and lodge the Trust of the Government, where neither in Prudence, nor by the Intention of the Law they ought to rest. Thus it came to pass in the K——'s time, that tho' the Di—nt—rs had the Liberty of their Consciences secur'd to 'em by an Act of *Perpetual Toleration*, which was purely the Result of the Indulgence of the Ch—ch, to those who wou'd not make an equal Return, where themselves prevail'd against it; yet not so contented, they did by Libels and Scandalous Pamphlets openly, and by Clandestine Insinuations to the K——, thro' the Means and M——ry of some Persons, endeavour to create an Unjust Jealousy of the Ch——ch, and to wrest into their own Hands the Civil Power, for which the Law had made 'em incapable, and by a meer Jesuitical Equivocal Shift, Scandalous to Religion, and Destructive of all Faith and Moral Honesty, attempted to evade the Force and Intent of the Law, which was to distinguish and incapacitate for Trust all those, that were not true and Sincere Members of the Ch——ch of E——d, prostituting those Consciences of which they pretended to be so Tender, and profaning the most Solemn and Holy Mysteries of the Christian Religion, to the base sinister Ends of eluding the Law.

Danger of delaying the Bill against Occ—l C——ry.

The Di—nt—rs not contented with Liberty of Conscience.

' We grant the late K— was a Foreigner, and Educated out of the Pale of the C——h, and that the next in Succession may be so too. But the First had and the Second has *English* Blood in ' H—Veins (for I cannot suppose the P——fs S——a will ever ' R——n here on Account of Her Great Age) which will check all ' manner of Disaffection to us as Strangers. Besides the H——n——r ' Family are *Lutherans*, and we have no Reason to doubt the Continuance of our Church Ceremonies as by Law Establish'd under ' H—— G——t, since the *Lutherans* hold more: Add to all this, ' that the S——n is under such and such Limitations, and that He is ' Bound by Law to be of the Establish'd Communion himself, and ' all Officers of State under Him; which can be of no Disadvantage to the Church.

How far, and by whom these Practices were encourag'd, and what Distractions they caused on the Affairs of the Publick, few *Englishmen* can be Ignorant, and has in part been already told, therefore shall not be repeated here. But the Observation of the Mischiefs these Practices had already been the Cause of in Ch—ch and St—te, and those yet greater to Both, which must be the necessary Consequences of the St—te's conniving at the continuance of 'em, made the H—se of Co——ns, resolve by a Law to take away the Temptation, and punish a Wilful Transgression, so scandalous to Religion, and so pernicious to all Civil Governments.

' The Present M——y is not to account for the Distractions of the late Reign, and if a Bill could be brought in for the Discontinuation of such People in Trust that was Instrumental in bringing about those Distractions, the L—T—D— M— and others about Her Sacred M——y's Person have made appear to the World they would not be against it, since there is no One but may be informed, they were always for passing the Occasional Conformity Bill.

*No Reign so
opportune as
this for the Bill
against O——l
C——ty.*

This they could never hope for so favourable an Opportunity of doing as in the Reign of a Q——n, who so well understands and loves our Constitution Ecclesiastical and Civil, that as before, among our Princes she has no Equal : So it is to be fear'd that after Her may arise none like Her ; If therefore We can't in this Reign obtain a Security for the Ch—ch of E——d against the Invasions of the D——rs, and get the Breaches made in those Laws, which were her only Political Fence repaired now, we have little reason to expect it in any other. For whatever Objections or Opposition may be made to it now, may probably be made then, when our P——e for want of sufficient Acquaintance with our Ch——ch and Us, shall perhaps not be so able to discern the Unreasonableness and Fallacy of 'em, as the Q——n is. And it is not unlikely, but that, as they begin already to call themselves the Ch——ch of

*(Vide) Cha.
rafter of a
Tacker.*

E——d by Law Establish'd, they may then make us the D——rs, as one of their Impudent Libellers has at this time done. And 'tis highly reasonable to believe, that when a Prince Educated in another Ch—ch shall come to the Helm, his Servants and Favourites, who will have the Privilege of his Ear in a peculiar Manner, may take upon 'em the Patronage of the Dis—r—rs, who will not fail to make Stronger Court to 'em, than the Ch—ch will think to be their due (as it happen'd in the late Reign) and so occasion such Promotions, as may be of fatal Consequence to the Ch—ch.

' That there is no Reign so opportune as Her present Majesty to have that Bill pass into an Act, no one breathing can deny Her Majesty's Education, Zeal and Practice, are Arguments

ments for it, and if all the Gentlemen at Court would be true Courtiers indeed, and confirm the saying of *Regis ad Exemplum totius Componitur Orbis*; We might hope for its taking Effect very soon. As for the Person that calls the D——s the E——d C——h, and the C——h-men the D——s in his *Character of a Tacker* (which by the By is very stupid) the Magistrate would justify his Conduct, in calling him to Account for it, neither would some Gentlemen concern'd in the Ad——on of A——s, be thought Tardy, and leaning towards the Di——st——ng Party, would they give out their Orders to take the Author of the Diet of *Poland* into Custody, which is the most Virulent Pamphlet against the Church and Her M——'s best Friends, as ever was written, and tends to the Destruction of all Civil Governments.

How easily this may be, will appear plainly by collecting the Votes of the P——rs created in that Reign. For of *Thirty Four* P——rs Sp——l and T——l Created, and first Rais'd to the Order of Nobility then, scarce above five either in that R——n or this, ever gave a Vote for the Service or Interest of the Ch——ch, or Ci——l C——nst——n in any Critical Question that concern'd 'em. What a dangerous Majority such Promotions may create somewhere, we find already to our Sorrow, and therefore in this Reign, in which only We can hope to do it, shou'd provide against such Mischiefs for the future.

*Behaviour of
the P——rs cre-
ated by the
L——R——*

As for the Creation of P——rs Sp——l and T——l in the late Reign, it is in no wise Synonymous to the Promotions in this, since none of either Class has been yet brought into the H——se of L——ds, but what have been of a contrary Disposition, (or should have been, say they that are Strangers to the New Moderation), and for those that are to come into those Orders, no Man without the Spirit of Divination, or abundance of Prejudice, can pretend to the fore-knowledge, what Side they will be of.

Whether our M——rs have in Reserve any Salutary Remedies for the Evils, which threaten both Ch——ch and St——te, from their past Conduct, We may with Justice question. For while in the P——nt every Bill for the Interest of the Ch——ch is Rejected thro' their Solicitation, and at C——rt her Firmest Friends are turn'd out of Trust and Favour, notwithstanding their Eminent Zeal and Abilities to Serve Her M——y, supported by Great Services past, for no other Reason than their Constancy for the Ch——ch, We must be Infatuated if We believe well of the Intentions, or trust to any Professions of M——rs that have Procur'd such things to be done.

*Designs of the
M——rs to be
judged by their
Conduct.*

The Designs of M——rs may be judg'd by their Conduct, and likewise they may not, for those are not Qualified to be

• Statesmen, that are without Di——on, and a real Evil may
 • be kept off, under the Umbrage of what is false. Every Bill
 • for the Interest of the Church has not been rejected, Witness
 • Her M——y's Grant of the Tenth to the Clergy, &c.

Mischief of But tho' our M——rs *He* and *She*, were as Ho-
their first false nest as they ought to be, and as Wife as they pre-
Steps. tend to be, or as Persons that set up for Managing
Factions had need to be (the Contrary of all which is
 from their Management shrewdly to be Suspected) yet
 all their future Honest and Wise Service could not make
 the Q-n, Ch-ch, or M---chy of E---d, Reparation for the Mis-
 chief which the Initial False Steps of their M——try have done;
 not tho' they should Reign as long as *Methuselah* liv'd, and Go-
 vern as Wisely and Uprightly for the time to come, as *Numa* or
Lycurgus. Under Pretence of *Moderation*, and Healing our Brea-
 ches, and Calming our Animosities, they have made them ten times
 Wider and more Flagrant, than ever. They have Spirited up a
Faction, that was *Down*, and made those Pretend to the *Whole Pow-
 er* of the *Government*, who, but for their Countenance and Support,
 would gladly have purchas'd Impunity with Incapacity; They
 have disobligh'd the Bravest and most Affectionate H---se of C---ns,
 that ever any Prince had, only to Render a Few in another Place
 Insolent, who have Heat enough to Embroil Affairs, but not
 Weight enough to Turn, or Skill enough to Disentangle 'em. In
 short, they have Forfeited the Esteem and Affection of the *Whole
 Body* of the Ch-ch-Men to make *Themselves* Heads of a Prick-
 ear'd *Faction*, who refuse to receive 'em as Such, and neither would
 if they could, nor could if they would Stand by them; and out of
 an idle Jealousy, that the E---l of R——r and some other L---ds
 of Great Merit and Authority, might Rise to an Equal Degree
 of Credit, and Rival them in the Q——n's esteem, they have
 brought themselves to a Necessity of Courting and Truckling to
W——n, *S——rs*, and *H——x*, their old Enemies, who Insult
 them with the Scorn, that is due to such Mean Politicks, and
 such Poor Submissions.

• The M——rs *He* and *She*, include a Malitious Inuendo,
 • as if any W——u, except the Q——n, had to do in the Ad-
 • ministration, and to say that they have *spirited up a Faction
 • that was down*, that *they have forfeited the Esteem and Affection
 • of the whole Body of the Ch——ch-Men*, to make themselves
 • Heads of a Prick Ear'd *Faction*, is a plain Contradiction, since
 • a little before *He* insinuates as if that *Faction* was uppermost in
 • the late R——n, and the Ch——ch-Men themselves must
 • belong to that *Prick Ear'd Faction*, since they have made equal
 • Application to them, and cannot, nay dare not, say they have
 • not met with equal Encouragement.

But

But admitting, that this Gracious Countenance of the T—— towards the Wh——gs and F——ks ^{T--'s Trimming, tho' perhaps dissembled strengthens the Wigs.} were but a Copy (as the wisest of them Suspected it to be) put on for a while only, to calm those *Unquiet Spirits*, and Lull them into a false Security, and that the Service and Security of the Ch——ch of E——d are only Respited (as it is pretended) till a Juncture, in his Opinion, more Favourable to them; Is he sure, that he shall be Able then, by the Service he shall do to Ballance the Mischief, that his Trimming in the mean time will have done? He has by his Countenance and Encouragement, not only rais'd up a *Faction*, that was absolutely down, but greatly Encreas'd and Strengthened it: But he must not therefore Flatter himself, that he carries so much weight in his own Person, as to be able to turn the Scale to which side soever he takes. For tho' he has had the Power to Spirit-up a Dejected Broken *Faction*, and to engage them in a Quarrel, which, but for their Hopes in him, they durst not have Entred into; or if they had, must have fallen in yet from some Parallel Instances, and some Arguments which We shall lay before him, We hope he will be Convinc'd, that his Success will not probably be so great, when he shall endeavour, to quell them.

‘ There is no such thing as certainty in the World, since every
 ‘ one of our Senses is Fallible, but if we may draw *Conclusions*
 ‘ from *Premises*, the Great Man here design'd to be traduc'd, has
 ‘ been Master of such Conduct, as to bring it very near it, all-
 ‘ most within the compass of an Assurance, that the Ch——ch
 ‘ of *England* will suffer no Diminution either in Point of Dignity
 ‘ or Interest.

32. *Katharine de Medicis* (a much Greater Person than our L—— T——) Queen Mother and Regent of *France*, during the Minority of *Henry* the Third her Son, by reason of his Age, and afterwards, thro' his Weakness, had a Mind to make the same Experiment, for much the same Reasons that T—— now makes. She was apprehensive, that the Interest which the *Guises* had in the *Leaguers* was a Diminution of her Authority, and might in time remove her from the Regency; and his Jealousy grew so strong in her, that tho' she was a Zealous Catholick and a Leaguer, she resolv'd to Countenance the *Hugonots*, in order to Ballance the Power of the League, and by them to Support the Regency against the *Guises*, whom she suspected to be her Rivals. This Conduct she pursued but Six Months; yet (as *Mezeray*, a Historian of Great Candour informs us) in that short time, she made more *Hugonots* by her Countenance, than all their Preachers had done in Thirty Years. 'Tis probable the Influence of our T—— may not make Wh——gs so fast; but it visibly Debauches great Numbers. The Consequence of these Ambitious Contests between the Queen-Mother of *France* and the

Parallel Instance of *Katharine de Medicis*.

the *Guises* was, That the King was made to Act on all *Occasions* contrary to his *Interests*, *Inclinations* and *Promises*, in compliance to the *Desires* of the *Factions*, and became, thro' their *Means*, very *Unhappy* and *Contemptible* to all his *People*; Whereas (the same *Historian* tells us) that had he stuck to that wholesome *Resolution* of *Tolerating* inviolably the *Hugonots* in the Exercise of their *Religion*, and of *Excluding* them intirely from all *Offices* of *Trust* and *Profit*, he had seen a speedy end of all his *Troubles*, and in a few Years brought all his *Subjects* peaceably to *One Religion*; the contrary *Method* to which fill'd his *Kingdom* with *War*, *Bloodshed*, and all the *Miseries* that attend 'em; and brought *Himself* at last to an untimely *End* by the Hand of an *Assassine*, after having been wrought by his *Mother* to Consent to a general *Massacre* of all the *Protestants* in his *Dominions*; which horrid *Design* was with detestable *Cruelty* and *Barbarity* executed at *Paris* on *St. Bartholomew's Day*, and follow'd soon after in most parts of that *Kingdom*. And this very *Katharine de Medicis*, who had not long before taken upon her the *Protection* of the *Hugonots*, when her *Interests* changed their *Face*, and she began to grow *Jealous* of the *Princes* of the *Blood*, as she had been before of the *House of Lorrain*, made no scruple of *Sacrificing* those to whom she had undertaken the *Patronage*, or of Sealing with their *Blood* her *Reconciliation* to the *Guises*, in which her *Hand* was so deeply dipt; that the *Scheme* for the *Universal Destruction* of those poor *People* was form'd in her *Apartment*, and the young *King* wrought to authorize it by her *Perswasions*.

' The Story of *Katharine de Medicis* carries such an intended Assault with it upon the Honour of a very Great Person, that it needs no other Remark upon it, than that it hints at such an Instance of *Barbarity* that had no Precedent before for it, nor can be made of it self to any Nation that has the Benefit of such Laws as this has, neither is it to be suppos'd, that a Q——n that is fam'd for *Wisdom*, and not in her *Minority*, will be subject to those Inadvertencys as a weak Prince, such was K—— Henry of France in his *Minority*, notwithstanding the Figure in History which he made after he was advanc'd in Years.

Tho' this Tragical Story (it is to be hop'd) is not applicable to E——d in all its Circumstances, yet the first part of it comes so near us, that it makes it not improper to consider the Conclusion: For the certain Moral of it is useful in all Countries, and at all Times, however peaceable and good Natur'd; that Friendships founded on Ambition are Fallacious and Dangerous, and never Lasting; for he that to serve a present Turn gives up his Old Friends, to serve a future One, will give up his new ones to them to recover 'em again. The Wh——gs therefore will (if they be Wise) consider for what Ends they are at present Caref'd, and whether their own share of the Nuts, they employed to rake out of the Fire, be worth burning their Fingers for.

' The

‘ The Tragical Story before mention’d, is so very little applicable to
 ‘ *E—nd*, that no such thing has ever been yet heard of within our Borders, or
 ‘ ever will, for as it is presum’d, we are without our *Katharine de Medicis*.
 ‘ so ’tis indisputably true, that we are without our King *Henry*, but have
 ‘ a *Q—n*, that will not hearken to such Barbarous Councils. As for
 ‘ the Precaution to the *Whigs*, they stand in need of none, for Deliberati-
 ‘ on has been their Practice for many Years, and as Diamonds cut Dia-
 ‘ monds, that Man must be a Knave indeed that out Wits ’em.

On the other Hand it may be no improper Speculation
 for the *M—rs*, to weigh well the Nature of the Tools *Growth of the*
 they work with, and to examine whether there be not *Wh—gs dange-*
 more Danger of cutting their own Fingers, than of shap- *rous to the pre-*
 ing their Designs right by ’em : *S—nd—nd*, whose *—m M—rs.*
 Schemes they are suspected to follow, found ’em once too
 hard for him ; and his Master, for all his Indulgence to ’em met with very
 ungrateful Returns : Neither his Kindness, nor their own Solemn Promi-
 ses of standing by him with their Lives and Fortunes, cou’d keep ’em
 from betraying him upon the first Opportunity that presented it self ; so
 far were they from keeping their Faith with him, that they prov’d the bit-
 terest and most ungentle enemies he had. If the *T—* expects more
 Gratitude from ’em, he deceives himself ; for tho’ they may use his Affi-
 stance to pull down the *Ch—ch*, yet their intire Confidence and Depend-
 ance will rest elsewhere, and they will always be as ready to embrace any
 occasion of Ruining him, as they were of doing it to their unhappy Indul-
 gent Sovereign *K—f—* ; yet lest they shou’d pretend themselves
 capable of such Carriage only towards *Papists* and *Popery*, and call it the
 Transport of an Ardent Zeal ; let their Behaviour towards the *Ch—ch* of
E—d, which immediately after an Attempt so provoking as a Conspiracy
 with the *Papists* to subvert her, in favour of them, repeal’d the *Penal Laws*,
 and gave ’em a perpetual Toleration by a Law ; let their Behaviour (we say)
 and Gratitude for that Indulgence be scann’d, and thence let a Judgment
 of their usual Returns be form’d. If therefore the Faction buoy’d up by
 the *M—rs* till it gathers Strength sufficient to get uppermost, will in all
 probability turn it upon ’em to their Ruin ; and if an unsuccessful Attempt
 so to buoy it up, will be almost as fatal to ’em from another Quarter ; the
M—rs wou’d do well to be very sure, that they are able to Steer clear
 of these Rocks, which no Man hitherto has done, or to change their Course
 in time, while there is room to Tack-about : They are *C—s*, and
 know that to trip up the Heels of those that raise ’em, is a familiar *C—*
 Practice ; let ’em beware how they make it National, lest it come round
 to themselves.

‘ The Precaution to the *M—y* is likewise superfluous, for every one
 ‘ that knows the Choice Her Majesty has made for Men of that Important
 ‘ Character, must argue against her *M—y*’s Wisdom, in not distinguish-
 ‘ ing Qualifications from such as are not. For a true Statesman, like a
 ‘ true Sportlman, never flies or unmuzzles his Hawk till the Prey is at such
 ‘ a Distance, as will render it next to an Impossibility for him to fail of
 ‘ what he is sent in Quest of.

The *T—* may please himself with a Dream of Power and Popularity,
 and fancy himself some mighty *M—h*, when he sees his Levees crowded,
 and half a hundred Gentlemen waiting his Orders, and watching his Nods ;
 but ’tis his Staff they follow, not him ; if his Foot-man bore it, they wou’d
 all be as obsequiously at his Heels. These are Intests, that can’t live out of
 the

the Sun-shine of the C——rt ; let it lie on which side it will, they must be in it. He that admires this sort of Court and Grandeur, may as justly fall in love with a sunny Wall, with a swarm of shining Flies upon it. 'Tis wonderful that any judicious experienc'd Person shou'd put any Confidence in such Transitory Friends, whom the first rude Blast of Weather blows to an opposite Quarter, or the first glimpse of Favour elsewhere lures away from 'em: Yet this has been the common failing of most of our great M——rs, to neglect those who have constantly, and out of Principle or Inclination been in their, or the same Interest with 'em, to purchase those that have been in a contrary; as if they carried about 'em some Charm, that wou'd make Men True to themselves, whom they cou'd draw to be Unfaithful to others. No other Reasons seem possibly to be given for this, than these, That most Statesmen are apt to presume upon the Superiority of their own Understanding, and to think that they may by virtue of it venture where others formerly in their Stations (and perhaps as conceited of their own Wisdom too) have miscarried; or that commonly their Designs are such as require Instruments, whose Consciences are more at liberty than a Man of Honour's, who is tether'd by Principles, and can go but a measur'd just length, and by consequence is not so fit a Tool for large Designs, as one that is neither Scrupulous nor Inquisitive beyond what he shall get himself for his Pains.

' True! A Foot-man may be advanc'd to a Post, and have his Levee crowded with Attendants for Preferment, but where's the Consequence that a Man of Birth and Knowledge must fall under his Disadvantages? He may have his Creatures too that endeavour to get themselves into his good Graces, and court his Favour. What of all that? The Foot-man is to be suspected only for the Distribution of his Grants, by Reason of his Incapacities of Judgment, and not the Man of Birth and Parts, who is too Noble to prostitute the one, and too Knowing to lessen the other.

All Ages and Countries have abounded with these obsequious *Prostitutes*, the Slaves of Prosperous Greatness, who ply at the *Levees* of Great Men, as Porters do in the Streets, only to put themselves in the way of being hir'd, and keep better Men away, who are afraid of contracting a *Suspicion* of Dishonesty by appearing often in such Company. All *Favourites* have been equally attended by 'em during their Favour, and alike *deserted* by 'em when that was gone. 'Twas not the Man but his *Fortune*, that they courted. Yet, tho' very few have Risen to be Pr——me M——rs, who did not know this, fewer have been able so far to surmount their own Vanity, as to *Despise* a crowded *Levee*, and not to *Indulge* this sort of Court by *Returns* of Favour, and *Preferment*. But from the *Choice* of such *Agents*, their *Designs* soon become suspected to the *honest understanding part* of the *World*, and that *Suspicion* generally renders those *Designs* abortive for which they were chosen. When Men of *doubtful Integrity*, or *obnoxious* to *Censure*, or even their *Partizans*, Men of their Stamp and Training-up are taken into *Grace* and *Confidence*, wise Men grow justly apprehensive that the *Old Game* is to be play'd over again, or some other as *Foul*. They that see the *Hand*, may easily judge what the *Play* will be.

' That all Ages and Countries have abounded with the Slaves of Prosperous Greatness must be allow'd, but that this Age in this very Instance must abound to too, is very far from a true Consequence. And an acute Gamester may let an indifferent one see his Game, and be too hard for him at the same time.

++ When we see the Bill against *Occasional Conformity* so often rejected through the Means and Influence of the M——rs, even after it had been alter'd to the Terms upon which the first *Opposers* of it promised *Compliance*; and when the *Great Patrons* and *Asserters* of the Interest of the Ch——ch at C——rt, the D——ke of B——m, the E——ls of R——, N——m, F——y, W——sea, Sir E——d S——r, L——d G——lie, Gl——rd, G——w——r, E——l of D——rt, Sir G—— R—— turn'd out, without the least Pretence or Colour of *Offence*; What can We judge of the Interests of the C——ch at C——rt? Perhaps We shall be told, that some of these went out Voluntarily, and that the Q——n so far approv'd their Service, that She Earnestly desir'd the Continuance of it in the *Same* or *Better Posts*. We grant it, and humbly Thank Her M——y for her Gracious Thoughts both of the Ch——ch and its *Friends*. But what then must We think of those M——rs, who render Joint-Service with 'em *Insupportable* to those, who have the highest Veneration and Affection for Her M——y's Person and Government? May We not justly Suspect, that they saw such things carrying on, as they could neither *Concur* in nor *Prevent*; and therefore consulted their own Honour, and laid down, lest by appearing to Countenance 'em, they should share the *Imputation*? But what will they say to those other *Noble Persons*, who not being of C——b——t C——l, had no other Means of keeping things right, than by doing their *Duty* steadily in their Places? Were they guilty of any *Offence*? Or was any thing *Objected* to 'em that might *Deserve* to be Punish'd with the *Loss* of their *Places*? No! their Services too were approv'd, and their Fidelity commended, but themselves *Dismiss'd*. What can be the *Meaning* of all this? If Places were sold by Allowance, We might imagine, that some Persons were apprehensive of a *Storm*, and therefore made hast to get in their *Hay* while the *Sun* shin'd. But surely Places are not Sold, at least not all of 'em; and therefore that can't be the Reason of all these *Extraordinary Changes*. However it be, by the *Choice* of *Wh——gs* to succeed, it looks as if some Persons had a *Design* to guard all the *Avenues* to the Q——n with their own *Creatures*, and to *Exclude* the poor declining Ch——ch, and its *Friends* from all manner of *Access* to Her.

'As the Bill was alter'd, so were the Temper of those who might Intimate as if they would comply with it, and if some of these worthy Patriots here mention'd, flung up their Places, how 'is the Queen or Ministry to be Charg'd with their Removal? 'No body told them they were guilty of any Misdemeanour, and 'if some People near her M——y's Person aim'd at some things 'he would have us think they did, Why did they not rather 'continue in their Places, and obviate their Designs. As for that 'unkind Insinuation, as if Places were Sold at C——t, it must needs

E

' be

' be abominably false; for one of the first Acts the Q---n did since
' her Accession to the Th---ne was, to discountenance such Procee-
' dings, and give Verbal Orders, which have since been made
' publick in Her Royal Proclamation, no such thing should be
' done.

The present Prospect of the Ch--ch is very Melancholy; and
whatever *undiscerning People* may think, or some, that would *blind*
Us say, that of the G---nt is not much more comfortable. For
if while the C---rt was for Us, the H---se of L---ds almost
intirely with Us, and the H---se of C---ns undebauch'd in
their *Principles*, and the *Laws* vigorous on our side, even in those
days *Wh--gs*, *R--p--bl--ns* and *F---cks* Encreas'd and Multiply'd
upon us, How will they *Insult* us now, when all our *Strength* is
reduc'd to a *Remnant* in the H---se of C---ns only, and
those *Oppos'd* by the other H---se, *Brow-beaten* by the C---t,
and *Aspers'd*, *Villify'd*, and *Abus'd* by the *Wh--gs*, *R--p--bl--ns*, and
F---cks all the Nation over. How ought we to *Reverence*
and *Cherish* the constant Honourable *Few*, who above the *Tempta-*
tions of the M---rs, or the Unjust *Clamour* of the *Wh--gs*, by
their *Courage* and *Bravery* alone, sustain our *Cause*.

' I cannot think the Prospect of Affairs so very melancholy as
' he would have me, for the way to suppress the Whigs is to let
' them be in Power, for some time, and their rampant Behaviour
' will quickly open the People's Eyes, and make way for the Ch--ch
' to get into the supream Authority. As for their Encreasing and
' Multiplying when the C---t, H---se of L---ds and C---m---ns were
' for us, that was no Wonder under the Reign they got Head in.
' The Debaucheries of the C---t and Times contributed to it, and
' it is no difficult thing, at that juncture, to Gather and Multiply,
' under the Pretence of Sanctity, which looks the more Tempting
' and Engaging, by how much the more Prophaness and Immora-
' lity is in Fashion and Reputation.

There was a Time when our Clergy defended our Ch--ch a-
gainst the Joint Attacks of *Papists* and *Fanaticks*, with a *Courage*
Becoming the *Cause* they Serv'd. But alas, many of those *Reve-*
rend Persons, that *Animated*, and *Led* 'em, are Dead; the Ch--ch
has lost 17 of those Heroick Pr---tes, that gave *Life* and *Vi-*
gour to those *Noble Sentiments*, and most of their *Places* are fill'd
with Men of another *Stamp*, who, not being *Warmed* themselves
with the same *Zeal* for it, by *Preaching Indifference* to the *Interests*
of the Ch--ch, under the Specious, Deceitful Name of M---n,
have very much *Damp'd*, and in a manner *Extinguished* that *Noble*
Spirit, which their *Predecessours* had infused into the *Inferiour*
Cl--gy. However, our Case is not so *Desperate*, but that we have
some *B--sh--ps* left, who do not owe their *Promotion* to S---d
or

of S——rs ; but still Retain their *Primitive Integrity*, and Affection to the Ch—ch, of which they are True Sons, and Tender Fathers, Men, whose Reputation is not built upon the Sandy Bottom of a Treacherous Mo——on, nor their Heads vainly filled with Chimerical Notions of an Impracticable Comprehension, but who are justly Rever'd for their Piety, and Honour'd for their Steadiness ; Men, who under the general Indefinite Term of Protestant, have not lost the Important Distinction between a Ch—ch of E——d Man and a F——ck, and wou'd not put Pr——ns, In——ts, An——ists, Qu——rs, Soc——ns, under the common Negative Idea of Protestants, into equal Credit and Authority with the Ch—ch of E——d ; Men, who are neither to be Awed by L——th, nor Wheedl'd by S——um out of their Principles, but can Construe Thirty Nine Articles without an Exposition ; and Dare give a Vote for a New Law to secure the Ch——ch of E——d, when by Jesuitical Shifts, the Intent and End of the Old are frustrated ; Men, who, tho' the C——t be the Fountain of Preferment, Dare withstand it in Defence of the Ch——ch, and who wou'd not in Complaisance to any M——rs leave it, the only Protestant Community not secur'd by Law.

' We are not without Gentlemen of distinguishing Zeal and Abilities, that both officiate as B——ps, and wait at the Altar as Ministers of God's holy Word, and tho' we have had the Misfortune to lose such Ornaments of the Church as the Seventeen P——s, whose Death he laments for, we want for none to transmit our Holy Worship pure and undefil'd to succeeding Generations. As for the two B——ps, one whose Way of Life explains it self, and t'other who has expos'd himself, by turning Expositor of the 39. Articles, they are Big enough to defend themselves. But I can't agree with him, that ours is the only Protestant Community not secur'd by Law ; for we have Laws enough for our Defence, were they but vigorously put in practice.

From the pious Endeavours of these Reverend and Worthy Pr——tes, in conjunction with the Lower House of C——v——tion, the Ch——ch humbly hopes, and earnestly intreats that the Lower Cl——gy (who want only to be headed and countenanc'd) may be encourag'd to exert themselves in the defence of that Ch——ch from which they receive their Bread ; and that they may be instructed to shew their respective Congregations the innumerable Evils that flow from that dangerous but too much receiv'd Position, that *there ought to be no distinction amongst Protestants* ; let 'em instruct 'em in the Nature of True Moderation, and exhort 'em to the Practice of it ; but let 'em make 'em truly sensible of the vast Difference between that Moderation, which is a Virtue, and a part of the Moral Duty of every Christi-

*The humble
Petition of the
Ch——h to the
B——ps.*

an; and the *Moderation* so *Fashionable*, and so much *Recommended* of late, which is nothing but *Lukewarmness* in Religion, and Indifference in every thing that relates to the Service of God, and the Interest of his Ch—ch; let 'em make it appear that the *Toleration* may and shall be maintain'd without suffering the D—ff—rs to ride upon our Necks, and that there is no *High Ch—chman* (as they abusively call us) of us all, who would break in upon the *Toleration*, if it were in their Power, provided, that the Ambition of the D—ff—rs would stop there. Let 'em Remonstrate to them the *Scandal* and *Sin* of *Occasional Conformity*, and the *Heinousness* of *Mocking* or *Dissembling* with GOD, in so Solemn an *Act* of *Devotion*, as the Approaching the *Lord's Table*. Let 'em Reprove *Wantonness* and *Wavering* in Religion, and *Rambling* after *Variety* of *Religious Exercises*, which Argues more *Curiosity* than *Devotion*. Lastly, Let 'em in their *Conversations* with their *Neighbours* Represent to 'em the Present *Real Danger* of the Ch—ch and St—te, and from *Whom* it is fear'd, as from this *Memorial* or other fuller Evidence, they shall be Convinced; and by rightly Stating the Truth of *Facts* to 'em, let 'em Vindicate those *Worthy Patriots* in Both H—ses (Especially the H—se of C—ns) who are *Asspers'd* for their just Endeavours to Settle and Secure the Ch—ch and Ci—l St—te, and more Especially at this time *Maliciously Misrepresented* to the People by the *Enemies* of Both. To all these things, as We doubt not of your L—ps Concurrence and Direction, so We hope thro' the *Blessing* of GOD upon the Sincere Endeavours of your Cl—gy, to see the Ch—ch Triumph over the *Malice* of its *Enemies*, the Nation Settled in *Lasting Peace*, and Both Indebted to the *Zeal* and *Piety* of your L—ps, to whom, tho' not the Major Part in Number of your own O—r, the Whole Glory of Establishing It for Ever, will, next to God, be mainly Due. If any of our Clergy remain still *Prejudic'd*, and *Intoxicated* with the *Vain Hopes* of a *Comprehension*, let them know, that the *Dissenters* universally *Laugh* at them for a *Project* so *Impracticable*, and despise 'em for their *Weakness* in Propounding an *Expedient* so *Impolitick* on their Part; if it were *Practicable*, no Man alive could ever yet tell on what *Terms* the *Dissenters* would accept of a *Comprehension*; nor can the wisest of the *Church-Comprehenders* say on what he expects they shou'd. Do they Propose, That the *Dissenters* should come over to the *Church*, or the *Church* go over to the *Dissenters*? If either of these *Miraculous* Changes could be wrought, it would not be *Comprehension*, but *Conversion*. Let those that expect the *Former*, do their utmost to bring it about; let 'em in their *Sermons*, and their *Writings*, endeavour to Convince the several Sorts of *Dissenters* of their respective Errors. The *High-Church Men* (as they call 'em) are ready to join with 'em in so good a *Work*. At the worst 'tis but so much *Pious Labour* lost, if they

they gain no *Ground* upon the Dissenters, and may probably have this good Effect, that it will Fix again those whom a mistaken Notion of *Moderation* has Unsettled. As for those, who desire the Church should go over to the Dissenters, let them set the Example, which can't fail of bearing this good Fruit, that either they will be follow'd, which will Satisfie their End, or their *Places* will be fill'd with *Better Church Men*, which will Answer *Ours*; and both ways put an End to this *Pandalous Fluctuation*, this *Halting* between several *Opinions*, and the Church arrives at some Settlement.

' That the Lower Clergy should follow the Example of such ' worthy *P---tes*, whose Lives are most Inviting, and whose Do- ' ctrine's the most Pathetick and Primitive, no Man but will al- ' low; but 'tis to be hop'd, they have no need of these Admoni- ' tions at this time of Day. The Duties of their Office, as Dis- ' pensers of God's Word, the Canons of the Church enjoin them ' to it, and all Gentlemen that have Cures of Souls, are so to be- ' have themselves in their respective Benefices, as shall be most Be- ' neficial to the Persons whose Guidance and Instruction is com- ' mitted into their hands. The Name and Nature of *Moderation* ' should be explain'd, the Practice enforc'd, and its Consequence, ' which is only the *True Peace*, so made appear, from the Lives ' and Deaths of the blessed Apostles, Saints, Martyrs and Confes- ' sors, as to damp the Projects of such who would introduce Dis- ' order and Confusion under the disguise of it, and dispirit those ' Men from farther Attempts to get into the Revenues of the ' Church, without being studious Observers of its Doctrines. As ' for a *Comprehension*, it has been aim'd at several times, particular- ' ly in the late Reign, and late Queen's time, but to no purpose; ' for make what Concessions we can on our side, the Dissenters will ' be Craving for more, and it is, not for *Doctrine* that they Quar- ' rel with us, but for *Power*, so that it happens between us as be- ' tween *Cesar* and *Pompey*, one will have no *Equal*, and the other ' no *Superior*. The Dissenters would not, if equally Establish'd by ' Act of Parliament (which would take the Name of *Dissenters* ' from 'em) be Content till they had got the sole Power into their ' Hands, and the Church would not suffer those she had receiv'd, ' thro' especial Grace and Favour, into Partnership in her Privile- ' ges, and run away with them, and Exercise a Despotick Autho- ' rity over them.

As for those, who are for compounding with the Dissenters, and for Meeting 'em (as their Phrase is) half way, they are either ex- ceeding weak Men, or worse deluded Persons, or ——— There are three ways by which the Dissenters have receded and gone off from Us, and consequently as many by which they may and must Return to Us, if ever they mean to do it (*viz.*) *Doctrine*, *Discipline* and *Worship*. Which of these ways would these Men
of

of *Comprehension* have us meet 'em with our *Advances*? In less than All, Dissenters themselves have often declared, they will not be satisfied nor stir one Step towards us; and in All we can't make any without *Mutilating* or *Adulterating* the pure *Christian Faith*, *Condemning* our most Excellent Church, and in a manner *Apostatizing* from, and utterly *Subverting* it. We have been often told, that the *Protestant Dissenters* agree with us in all the *Main* and *Fundamental* Points of the *Christian Faith*, and differ from us only in *Trifles*, and Points *not Essential*. If this be true, Why did they *Separate* from us? And why do they not immediately *Return* into the Bosom of the Church, who, if this be all the Ground of their *Separation*, is ready with *Open Arms* to Receive 'em. For our Church is not so Rigid, or so Capricious as to require an *Absolute* Uniformity of Sentiments among her Sons in Matters of *Doubt* or *Speculation*, which are *not* Essential to the True Faith, nor Necessary to the maintenance of Order and good Discipline. She does not require Implicite Faith, nor command her Sons to Believe as the Church Believes, whether they comprehend her Meaning or not. or can be convinc'd in their Understandings, that those things are True which She delivers as such. She could wish indeed, that all her Sons had as Sound and Clear Understandings to embrace all Useful Truths, as strong Constitutions to Digest all wholesome Food; but like a Tender, Indulgent Mother, She does not Reject those weak Ones, who through Infirmary can't receive all that is good and conducive, if they admit all that is Essential to the *Christian Faith*, and Necessary to *Christian Communion*. Those therefore, that dissent from the Church of *E——d* on Points not of this Number, in their own Opinions at least, stand Self-condemn'd, and can't excuse themselves from the Guilt of Obstinate Unreasonable Schism.

What our Author says here is uncontrovertible; and if the Dissenters from the Establish'd Church agree with her in Fundamentals, and differ from Her in a few Trifles, it's the business of those misled Men to Reconcile themselves to the Obedience that is due to Her: But if they have receded from us three ways, in Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, it is but fitting that they should Qualify themselves those 3 Ways, and approach Her like the Penitent in the Scripture, with *Mother, we sinn'd against Heaven, and against Thee, and are no more worthy to be called thy Sons*, and she will receive them into her Arms, and give them the Penitent's Reception. But we may set our Hearts at rest, as to such Overtures of Amendment; they will never think themselves in the Wrong, and of consequence can never be in the Right; wherefore it is altogether necessary, since the Purity of our Worship, and Excellence of our Liturgy, will not invite them into our Communion, we be provided with such Laws for our farther Security, that they may not Force us into theirs.

Those

Those *Dissenters* that would alter our *Hierarchy*, and change our whole *Ecclesiastical Polity*, deal indeed fairly with Us, and let us know what they would be at : That is, provided we come over entirely to Them, they will be so Gracious as to Comprehend us; but this Grace we can't expect from those of 'em only, who are for a Comprehension in their Sense, that is, for Pardoning Us Schismatics of the Ch——ch of E———d. The Presbyterians pretend to have less Aversion for us, and to approach our Ch——ch nearer than any other sort of English Dissenters. But we have had such a taste of their Lenity and Indulgence in the Iniquity, and Violences of the Proceedings of the K——k of Sc——nd against the Ep———l Ch——ch; which less than Twenty Years ago was the Establish'd Ch——ch of that Nation, that we must be infatuated to Extremity, should we suffer them to get the Power, and still hope to be Tolerated in our own way. They who have made it High Treason there, by Preaching or Argument, in Discourse or Writing, to defend Episcopacy, are not like to be very Indulgent to it here, whenever they shall have it in their Power to be Severe. Besides, as all the Hope which the E———sb Pr——sb——ntertain of prevailing here at some time or other, is founded on their Expectations of Assistance from their Brethren in Sc———nd; Can we flatter ourselves that an Arm'd Power of S———ts, which should come Strong enough to Force their Discipline upon us, would not have the Garbling of our Land, as well as the Modelling of our Ch——ch? The Northern Counties still remember the Old Sc———ch Cant, *We come for aw your Gudes*, which they made constantly good in the Literal Sense, upon all their Moveables, where ever they were not frighted or beaten off in time. And the whole Nation knows the time when the Saints shall inherit the Earth, was thought Law sufficient to give a Sett of Men, who Sainted themselves a Title to the Lands and Possessions of the Wicked and Malignants, which was every Man, whose Estate they coveted.

'If the Dissenters let us know what they would be at, then we have fair warning to be provided against, and since we have a Q—— on our side, who has been bred up under the most Pious Instructors, and has confirm'd Her Affection to the Church, in the many Pathetick Expressions She has deliver'd from the Th——ne, and gracious Promises, since the Courtiers pretend to conform themselves to Her Principles, and the Dissenters themselves shew an Universal Satisfaction under Her Prudent Administration; we have no reason to doubt of any farther Security for the Church, for Her Majesty is too well Read in Histories of Her Royal Ancestors, not to know that the Church has always been the support of the Crown, and has given Instances of an Inviolable Obedience, when those that are its Enemies have more than once revol'd from their Duty and Allegiance. As for the Treatment of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland, the Parliament

'is now Sitting, and it's not to be question'd as Her M——y is
'Q——n of that Kingdom as well as this, but that some Provision
'will be made for those abandon'd Servants of the Living God's
'Subsistence.

This must necessarily be the Case of any Nation, where it shall become a general *Article of Faith*, that *Dominion is founded in Grace*. For the *Body* of all Nations being no nice *Discerners*, the *People* will be cheated by the *Prestigious Tricks* of *Impudent Hypocrites*, and false *Enthusiasts*; who will always take upon them to be Judges of the Measure of their own *Grace*, and of all other *Mens*, and thereby assume an *Arbitrary, Tyrannical Dominion* over all *Honest, Wise Men*, whose *Consciences* will not suffer them to make those *Scandalous, Hypocritical Pretensions*. This was the *Orthodox Divinity*, and these the *Consequences*, which follow'd the *Sc——ch Reformers* into *E——d*; and these must follow 'em again, if ever they are suffer'd to return hither.

'If *Dominion is founded in Grace* be a Tenent, that introduces
'*Tyrannical Usurpations*, makes false *Enthusiasts* and *Hypocrites*,
'then it is for the safety of the Government to expunge it, and
'take such effectual Measures to add to the Authority of the
'Church, as to make the *Dissenters* wild Schemes, and confus'd
'Notions of their own *Dominion* yield to Her.

But perhaps some *Comprehension Low Ch——ch* Man will tell us, that they do not intend to comply so far with the *Dissenters*, as to consent to the *Abolition* of *Episcopacy*, but only to condescend so far to the *Weakness* of our *Dissenting Brethren* as to Moderate it, and to gratify 'em by taking away some *Extravagant Branches* of the *Power* of a *Bishop*. They that think by such *Compliances* to reconcile any sort of *Dissenters* to the *C——ch*, will find themselves very wide of the *Mark*, when they shall come to the *Experiment*: For there is scarce any sort of *Dissenters* who do not exercise more *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* among themselves, and fulminate Men with their *Spiritual Thunder*, more frequently and freely than the *Ch——ch* of *E——d* does. It is not therefore that any sort of *Clergy* does not think their *Ch——ch* endued with as *Great Authority* and *Coercive Power* over the *Laiety*, as the *Ch——ch* of *E——d* has at any time, since the *Reformation* exercis'd; but their *Censures* being in this Nation meer *Bruta Fulmina*, that is, being neither *Allow'd* nor *Supported* by the *Secular Magistrate*, the *Law* has taken away their *Sting*, which it has not done to those of the *National Ch——ch*; the *Dissenting Clergy* wou'd therefore be glad that the *Law* wou'd restore the *Sting* to their *Censures*, that they

Episcopacy
not to be Mode-
rated to the
Dis——rs taste.

*Ecclesiasti-
cal Jurisdiction*
strain'd by the
Dissenters far
above the Pra-
ctice of the
Ch——ch.

they might become more Awful to their Congregations. or that it were taken away from those of the Ch——ch ; that its *Ministers* might be *Wronged* in their *Dues*, and its Self *Affronted* in its *Discipline* with more *Licence* and *Impunity*. It is not the *Title of Lord*, nor the *Authority* which a *Bishop*, as such has, that offends these *Men* ; but it is the small Number of *Bishopricks* that gives so few of 'em room to hope to arrive at the *Dignity* and *Power*, of which so many of 'em are *Ambitious*.

To lessen the Authority of a Bishop, by pretending to lop of some Extravagant Branches of his Power, is to weaken that of our Holy Religion. which God forbid. for by degrees, this pretence of paring off some superfluous Excrefcences will so desert that sacred order, that it will be pruned so at last as to have no Branches left, the Consequence of which will be *No Bishop* ; and *No King*. *No Bishop*, has been a received Maxim among us Time out of Mind. Which gives occasion for a Melancholly Reflection, which is, that the Church has been reduc'd to that Extremity once already, and what has been done in one Century, may be effected in less time than the compass of an Another.

The *Presbyterians* therefore by lodging the *Jurisdiction* of *Archbishops* and *Bishops* in their *Synods* and *Classes* ; tho' they have not provided so amply for the *Ambition* of some, yet they have more liberally and equally for that of all their *Clergy* ; for in their *Democratical Scheme* of a Ch——ch, they have given to their whole *Clergy* an infinitely greater *Power* than ours pretends to, even equal to that of the Ch——ch of *Rome* ; and by their Distribution into *Classes* and *Synods*, they give 'em every one a *Share*, under the Denomination of *Classical* or *Synod-Men*, of *Dominion* over the *Laitie*, and entirely exempt 'em from *Lay Jurisdiction*.

*Synodical
Popery the
Foundation of
Presbytery.*

The Presbyterian Government is Synodical, and the Jurisdiction of Archbishops and Bishops is converted into a sort of Democracy of a general Assembly. But, say they, a single Man may err, may exercise a Tyrannical Power, which cannot be so well brought about amongst a number of Men, whose humors and Inclinations have a different Bent and Tendency. In answer to this we do not set up for Infallibility, but as a single Man may Err, so may a general Assembly, as has been known from the Transactions of Synods and general Councils held in several Ages, since one general Council has exploded what has been done by Another.

Congregatio-
nal of Independ-
ency.

The *Independents* by another sort of *Distribution*, carry the *Authority* of every *Individual Priest* yet higher; every *Particular Pastor* is *Arch-Bishop* of his *Congregation*; a *Diminutive Pope* in his little *Dominions*; *Absolute*, *Arbitrary* and *Uncontroulable* in *Spirituals*; *Subject* and *Accountable* in *Matters of Religion* (as he pretends) to none but *God*; whose *Particular*, but *Private* Call to the *Ministry* by way of *Perpetual Inspiration*, he pleads as his *Commission* and *Warrant* for whatever he does; which none but *God* that gave it him can exact any *Accounts* of in Barr to all *Human Authority*. Thus the *Independent's* *Priest* lodges in himself the *Infalible Judicature in Sacris*, from whence there is no *Appeal*; which the *Presbyterian* with more *Modesty* resolves ultimately into, and places in the last *Resort* in the *National Synod*; so that the *Presbyterians* have but *One Pope* in each *Nation*, which is the *Synod*; and the several *Ministers* of which it is composed, are but so many *Limbs* of *Antichrist*; whereas the *Independents* have a *Little Pope* in every *Congregation*, and every *Individual Preacher* among them is a whole *Petty Antichrist* himself.

'As for the *Independent* way of Government as it is Just as 'Rational as the *Popish*, by almost investing every *Individual* 'Pulpit-Climber with the Gift of *Infalibility*, so it would not be 'amiss should the present Mi——try take such Measures against 'them as are put in Practice against declar'd *Papists*. They differ 'more in Name than Nature, and while one is *Animadverted* up- 'on, with the strictest severity of *Acts of Parliament*, &c. it 'would be unjust in an *English Senate* to take such Measures in a 'Parliamentary-way, as should defeat the Malignancy of this 'growing Evil.

No Terms of
Comprehension
offer'd by the
D-----rs.

Upon what *Terms* then do these *Moderate Men*, these *Comprehenders*, propound a *Coalition* between our Ch -ch and These? Will the *Presbyterians* part with their *Synodical Popery*, or the *Independents* their *Congregational*? Or do the *First* desire to make their *Synodical System* the *National Ch -ch*? Or the *Latter* to Turn their *Congregations* into *Parishes* by *Act of Parliament*? That is, in fewer Words, Do they offer to come over to Us, or require that We shou'd to Them? For by whichever of the ways abovemention'd such a *Coalition* shou'd be effected, the proper Name for it (as we have already observ'd) wou'd be *Conversion*, not *Comprehension*. If they, or any of 'em, are willing to come over to us, we here again repeat our *Promise* to receive 'em with *open Arms*, and to forget all past *Unkindnesses*; which we hope is *Testimony* sufficient of our *Moderation*; but if they still insist that We shou'd come over to Them, We desire Them, or their *New Friends* the *Moderate Ch -ch Men*;

Men, to find some *New Arguments* that may satisfy our *Consciences*, without *Reproach* to which we can't seriously intend any such *Thing* upon the *Old Baffled Arguments* of the *D-ss-rs*, which have been so often, and so sufficiently answered already: Nor can we, without incurring the Censure of *mispending* our Time, consider them any farther; and therefore we likewise pray this *Favour* of them, that whatever they shall hereafter offer on this *Subject*, may be *New* and to the *Purpose*, without *Impertinence* or *Scurrility*: For we are not at leisure to consider *Bagatelles*, nor of a Humour to answer *Ribaldry*, such as of late have been generally offer'd on their behalf, which is another *Proof* of our *Candour* and *Moderation*, such as they are not able to give for themselves.

Our Business is to make them come over to us, as the Church 'Etablish'd by Law, not for us to go over to them, for in that sense it could never be call'd *Conversion*, but *Perversion*, a direct joining with the Devil, rather than a Renunciation of that Evil Spirit, and all his Works: And we are willing to admit of the Dissenters, and our Church holds open Her Arms to receive them, is not only an Argument of Her *Moderation*; but also of Her *Generosity* in permitting them to share in the Benefices of the Church, upon their conforming to its Discipline.

Those that know how Arbitrary and Unlimited an Authority these Dissenting *Guides* have at all times Usurped, where they prevail'd, will have little hope of an Accommodation from any Concessions on their Part in Point of Discipline or Spiritual Jurisdiction. The most Reasonable and Moderate of 'em, the *Presbyterians* have always set themselves, and their own Censures above all Laws, and pretended, that the Sentencing and Correction of Sinners without Limitation of kind, either of Sin or Punishment, belong'd to them as the Ministers of Christ, by which unbounded Privilege, they drew to themselves the Judicature in all Cases in the last Resort, and consequently the Absolute Sovereignty over all Ranks and Conditions of Men. This is still Practis'd in Scotland, where, upon whatever account the *Presbytery* is pleased to Excommunicate any one, the Custom of *Horning* still remains, that is, of Seizing all his Estate and Effects at the Sound of a *Horn*, which is the *Kirk's* Warrant for Execution; and against this Sentence (however Unjust) the *Government* dare not give any Relief: So Terrible is the *Kirk* to it. This they pretended to, and exercis'd (tho' not by the *Horn* in *England*) in the time of their Usurpation, till the very *Rump* it self, their own Creature, would no longer endure such extravagant Domineering, and thought fit by an Ordinance to Circumscribe it, as Nye the Famous *Assemblist* Complains,

*Discipline of
the Dissenters
Arbitrary &
Unlimited.*

* *The Exercise of Discipline in our Congregations was ordered by the Parliament ; but limited likewise to an Enumeration of the Sins for which we might Excommunicate, exempting other Sinners, that were as much under our charge. This was look'd on by the Assembly, as a great Abridg^{ent} of their Ministerial Liberty, and so great as they Profess'd it could not with a good Conscience be Submitted to, as not being able to perform their Trust, which they received from Jesus Christ, and must give an Account of to him, resolving to stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made them Free.*

' A Man of any Reading must join with this Author. when he asserts that the Dissenting Guides have exacted an Arbitrary and Unlimited Power, and that they would do so again, could they get the Government into their Hands as in the days of the *Rump Parliament*. But the Face of Affairs is chang'd since here in England, tho' the poor *S-*ts labour once more under the Tyrannical Discipline of the merciless *Kirk* and the Power of their pretended Clergy is circumscrib'd within Acts of Parliament, so that they cannot domineer it so much, tho' they continue a sort of a Despotick Government still over their several Congregations, and have, as it were, an absolute Dominion over their Consciences. As for an Accommodation, if they heartily sought it, they would give in their Proposals, since it's none of the Church's business to make offers to them, but they are to let us know on what conditions they will join with us.

This is a Note above *Ela*, a Strain beyond *Pöpery*.
Absolute Pö- For the *Pope*, as High a Churchman as he is, restrains
pery. his Spiritual Thunder to his *Sins* enumerated and defin'd in the *Canon Law* of that Church. But the *Saints*, good Men, are for Fulminating at Discretion, and delivering over to *Satan* whomsoever they please, without any Stated Rule or Restriction of *Law*. The *Synodists* and *Assemblists* wou'd be at once *Law givers*, *Judges*, and *Jury*, and Make, and Execute the *Law* at the same Instant. This may seem Extravagant, and look like a Misrepresentation to those that are Ignorant of the Foundation, Nature, and Extent of their Discipline. But 'tis Conviction *ex Ore proprio*, 'tis what is to be found in all their *Writings*, what they have all argued for when time was, as much as *Nye* before-cited, and what they have Exercited, and would Exercise still, did not the Fear of the *Laws*, and the better Example of the *Church*, restrain them at present. Were those *Obstacles* remov'd, there is no doubt but they wou'd Resume their antient Practice, and Domineer as much *Here*, as in *Sc——nd*. Nor cou'd they, upon their Principles, justifiably do otherwise. For if (as the *Independents* pretend) they are the *Immediate* Organs thro' which *Christ* Acts and Speaks by *present Inspiration*, Who dare refuse their

their Authority, that pretends to be a Christian? *Infallibility* attends *Inspiration*, and *Appealing* from them, is *Appealing* from Him, as in their *Writings* they frequently tell Us. This is the very Foundation and Essence of *Papery* refin'd upon. Both ground their *Usurpations* upon Mankind on the *Special* Authority of Heaven. But the *Pope* is in one Point more Modest, and more Ingenious than they: For he claims his Universal Vicarship under the Scriptures, which we Read and Understand as well as he, and therefore Dispute and Reject his Title. But they pretend a Warrant of a *Superiour* Nature, an *Immediate* Call, and require us to take that upon their own base Words, which no Man is bound to believe under the Evidence of *Miracles*.

'The Quotation from *Mr. Nye's Beams of Former Light*, convince us who ought to be heard, the High-Flyers, the Church-Men or the Dissenters, and is an Instance of their *Ministerial Liberty* to the last degree. It is to be wonder'd that they have any Followers, but these Pretenders to Sanctity, are the most Priest-ridden Creatures in the World, and wholly resign'd up to the Will and Disposal of him that whines the most Elaborately. As for the Pretences of the Independents, *that they are the immediate Organs through which Christ speaks*, such an Assertion can be little else than Blasphemy, since they attribute to themselves the Divine Nature, which is such an horrid Impiety as does not only render them more Criminal than the Papists, but pernicious to all civil Societies, as that they ought not only to be excluded from the Benefit of the Act of T——n, but even not be permitted to breath the Air of any Christian C——y.

Address to
the Moderate
Clergy.

Consider, we beseech you Brethren of the Ch-ch of E——d, you especially, that pretend to more Moderation than the rest, whither the designs of these Separatists tend, and whether you can be Content to follow 'em thro' all the Senseless Mazes of Crack Brain'd or Knavish Enthusiasm. Yet so you must do, or be at last upon worse Terms with 'em than now you are, if once in Condescension to their *Obstinacy* and *Whimsies*, you stir a Step out of the direct Paths of the Ch-ch; your least Deviation after 'em will be call'd a *Conviction*, and you will be treated as *Reprobates*, that had a Sight of Grace, but are fallen from it again, whenever you shall refuse to Dance any farther after their Pipe.

'As if the B——ps and inferior Clergy here taken notice of, did things without Consideration. Take heed Mr. *Memorialist*, or your own Consideration will be call'd in Question. For it's impossible this *Moderation* could be so much in Fashion, without abundance of Thought, from Long Heads too. to bring it into Repute. Though it does not require over much reach to know, whither the designs of the Separatists tend, after you have explain'd your self so much upon that Head.

To shew upon
what terms or
warrant they
expect or desire
a Comprehensi-
on.

But you wou'd win them over to You. The design is Pious; but what Hopes have you of it? Have not all Attempts hitherto to bring any *Set* of 'em over in a Body, prov'd all such Projects to be vain? Do you know whether they wou'd advance one Step towards you, or on what Terms? Has any Body offer'd any thing on their Part, for which he can shew their Commission? If no such advances have been made. Whither is it you wou'd Lead Us, or to what End? If the parting with a few Ceremonies in the Form of our Worship (however Decent and Significant we do now and shall continue to think 'em) will Reconcile and Unite 'em Sincerely to our Church, We are ready to Sacrifice 'em to their Scruples, if we can't upon an Amicable Discussion of 'em Satisfie those Scruples. But let 'em then State the Demands, and give us Demonstration, that it is neither an Illusion (as the *Savoy* Conference about such an Union, soon after the *Restoration* was) nor the Presumption of private Persons without the Authority of the Body in general which they retain.

'Yes, it is a *Pious Design*, and they'll make it out to you. That's 'if they can says you? As if the Conversion of Sinners, and bringing them over to the Church was not a *Pious Design*. Wherefore 'it is a Pious Design, and shall be so. The H-d of the C——h 'says so, the Majority of the Upper House of C———n stand 'by it, and sure you will not have the Impudence to dispute with 'his G——ce of C——t——ry about what is as clear as the Noon-day. You had even as good tell him, he does not know his own, 'and the rest of the Brethren of ——— meaning.

We are not (as we are by ill Men represented) such stiff Defenders of any Form, or thing not Essential, as to suffer a *Schism* in the Church for 'em, if we cou'd Remedy it; and tho' we are Sensible, that there is more *Humour* and *Design*, than *Real Conscientious* Exception, in the Objections to our most Excellent *Liturgy*; yet we had rather (if we can't be otherwise) bear some deformity in the *Outward Face* of our *Worship*, than that the *Church of Christ* should really be dismember'd. For this We have not only the Warrant of our own Judgment, but of the Whole Church in that *Incomparable* Preface to the Book of *Common-Prayer*, drawn up by he most Learned of our *Prelates* and *Divines*, and approv'd by the whole Clergy of Both *Provinces*, Assembled in *Convocation*. The *Sense* of the Church is thus express'd in that Preface. *It hath been the Wisdom of the Church of E——d ever since the first Compiling of her Publick Liturgy, to keep the Mean between the two Extreams, of too much Stiffness in refusing, and too much Easiness in admitting any Variation from it. For, as on the one side Common Experience sheweth, that where*

A Change hath been made of things advisedly establish'd (no evident Necessity so requiring) sundry Inconveniences have thereupon ensued; and those, many times more and greater than the Evils, that were intended to be remedied by such Change. So on the order side, the particular Forms of Divine Worship, and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being Things in their own Nature indifferent, and alterable, and so acknowledged; it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important Considerations, according to the various Exigencies of the Times and Occasions, such Changes and Alterations should be made therein, as to those, that are in Place of Authority, should from time to time seem Necessary or Expedient. Let 'em therefore shew to the Right Reverend Fathers of the Church, and those that are in Authority, what Alterations they desire, and the Evident Necessity or Expediency of such Alterations, and no doubt but they will meet with a cheerful compliance from 'em. But if they are neither able to shew the Necessity or Expediency requir'd, nor willing to express Clearly and Fully, what they would have; let them be at least so just as to cease their Causeless Clamour; for we have gone as far as in Prudence or Conscience we ought, without farther evident Necessity.

Stiffness is no essential part belonging to some of the Ministry of the Church of England; I'll say that for our Humble Professors of Divinity, they would rather part with all Forms than seem Formal, and would make any Composition with their Enemies, whom they are ready to call their Dear Brethren upon the least Overture, rather than it should be told about, that they were of Persecuting Principles. *Inmodicus brevis est Aetas*, is received for an undoubted Truth, where in my Moderate Opinion it behoves them to be Moderately Good, and do every thing with Moderation, but get Money, lest their Days may be short in the Land, and they be not long enough in Possession of what the late King has given them.

But before we dismiss quite the Consideration of the Desires or Designs of the Dissenters. We challenge the pretended Moderate Men their Advocates to explain to Us what sort of Moderation they require of Us, and to shew us their own. We don't Persecute the Dissenters, nor desire that they ever should be Persecuted. We have very willingly bound up our own Hands from doing that, to which our Hearts are as Averse, as the most Moderate Men of 'em all. We have perpetuated the Toleration to the Dissenters, and are ready to joyn it at any time to what farther Security we shall ask for our Selves. We are Ambitious of and have demanded nothing but what we have a Right, to a Perpetuation of our Settlement, which; we have reason to think, has been a long time design'd against. What can be more Moderate than such an Equitable Desire? But if under the fallaci-

*Moderate Men
challeng'd to
explain their
meaning.*

ous name of *Moderation*, they would have us treacherously abandon all Care and Sollicitude for the Security of the Church, they do by their *False Moderation* awaken Us, and excite our Vigilance. For they give Us just Reason to Suspect, that they have Confederated with our Enemies, and are in the Plot against Us, as in effect We see they are by the Opposition, which, in Conjunction with them, they make to Us on all Occasions. But whether *Ignorance* or *Treachery* has led 'em into these measures, their *Obstinacy* or *Repentance* will discover.

'What sort of Moderation should it be, but that which was mention'd in the Remarks upon the preceeding Paragraph? The Godly Moderation which is Gain, and will be so, while there are To——on Acts for Hypocrites, or Encouragement is given to L——beth Watermen to look one Way, and Row another. These moderate Gentlemen Act so much above Board, that you cannot take 'em for Enemies, if they were, they would not discover their Designs at this rate, before they were ripe for Execution, and defeat their own Intentions, by declaring so openly whose Cause they have espous'd.

*Their own
Clamour
matter of
and Caution
against
'em.*

It will be hard for 'em to persuade us that we are in no Danger, while they press us every Session of Parliament with their *Apprehensions* of the *Papists*; who, tho' our *Enemies*, are Inconsiderable for Number or Power, compared with the *Fanaticks*, who are equally *Inveterate Enemies* of the Church, and more of *Monarchical Government*: Nor want we proof of this, we need only to look into their *Writings*, or cast an Eye back upon what they did here Both to Church and State, or forward to what they do at this Instant to the Church in Sc——d. If therefore a handful of *Disarm'd, Disabl'd Men* be so Terrible, upon the score of their *Disaffection*, only to require more and more *Severe Laws* to Curb 'em: What *Reasons* have we not to Fear those, who being at least as well *Arm'd* as our *Selves*, are mixt among us, and lodg'd as it were in our *Bosoms*, and appear powerful enough to *Rival*, nay, even to turn us out of the *Civil Administration*, and to procure *Laws* to be made in their own *Favour*, and to hinder any from *Passing* in ours? We have had too dismal *Experience* of their *Tenderness* for us, when they got us down, to trust to their *Mercy*. And the *Arming* of Sc——nd, our E——ies by Ancient *Aversion*, and at this time by pretended fresh *Provocation*, with whom our *Fanaticks* have more than once heretofore joined, nay have indeed called 'em in to our *Destruction*, seems to threaten such another Juncture, and gives us but too lively an *Apprehension* of our present Condition, and does, as it were, bid every *Honest Englishman* be upon his Guard, especially the *Churchmen*, who must expect no Quarter.

'Fyc,

' Eye upon you, Mr. *Memorialist*, you will not stand up for the
' Papists at this time of the Day, that will be the Devil and the
' Whore of *Babylon* all over; as if the C——t did not know what
' Measures to take for the Good of the Publick. I tell you, Ro-
' man Catholicks are Dangerous Men, have not they once been
' like to have blown up King, Lords and Commons, and is it possi-
' ble any Parliament can have an Affection for them on that Ac-
' count? No, Sir, you are to seek here, the Dissenters never were
' concern'd in a Gun Powder Plot, which makes them harmless
' notwithstanding they are more numerous. As for the Arming of
' S——d, let them look to it, who advis'd giving the Royal
' A——t to the Act of Security, which was of sufficient force to
' awaken us into an Apprehension, that those Arms they were
' provided with, were prepared against us, since they are Poor enough
' to Invade their Neighbour Territories, and pretend to have re-
' ceiv'd not a few P——ns from us, on the Account of
' Trade, &c.

For these *Evils*, so much to be fear'd, we have
little hope of *Remedy*, but from the *Affured Goodness*
and *Affection* of the *Queen*, for her Church, or the
Wisdom and *Hearty Resolution* of the next Parliament.
But if the M——rs shou'd *Misinform* and *Mislead*
the Q——n, as M——rs have sometimes the
Opportunity of doing by very *Wise* and *Good Princes*: And if they
shou'd violently meddle with *Elections*, and presume so far as to
Closet, and make new *Regulations*, what might the *Result* of these
Things be? If these *Practices* shou'd have the desired *Influence*, and
produce a *Corrupt P——nt*? Might not the Q——n want
the *Power*, when she had the *Will* to rectify these *Abuses*? But sup-
pose with the utmost *Struggle* such a *Majority* shou'd be *Chosen* as
wou'd not be *Debauch'd*, nor sell *Themselves* or their *Posterity* for
Slaves to any M——r; How shall they be assur'd, that they
shall not be Sold by Others *Three Years* hence? Since the *Sting* of
Impeachments, and other *Persecutions* of M——rs for *Publick*
Misdemeanours, has been taken away, the *People* are the *Sheep*, the
Asses (or what they please to make 'em) of *Great Men*; they may
Fleece, or *Ride*, or *Slay*, or what else they please to do with us,
Impune. *Inferior Courts* dare not meddle with 'em, and they can
bring *Themselves* before *Themselves*, and then all the reason in the
World that they shou'd *Acquit Themselves*; and who dare question
their *Judicature*, a Thing so *Sacred* that it must not be *Touch'd*?

' He may Relye upon the Goodness of the *Queen* and the En-
' suing Parliament, that our Grievances as to Religion will be Re-
' dress'd; and though we have had very good English Princes and
' Parliaments misled, yet experience will open their Eyes, not-
' withstanding all the little *Artifices* may be made use of to lull
' them into a State of Security, and some Gentlemen may find to
' their Cost, that they shall not only be *Told* of their Faults, but Im-
' —'d for them too.

G

But

*Our only Hope
at present in
the Q——n and
and next Par-
liament.*

But the *Rights and Privileges* of all the *Commons* of *England* are *Trifles*, that every *Cobler*, every *Fellow* that takes *Alms* of the *Parish*, may call in *Question* *coram non* *Judice*; when he, or the *Person* that supports the *Suit* of the *Cobler*, pleases. Suppose then that any *Lord* shou'd order a *Dozen*, or a *Score* of his *Tenants*,
Rights and Privileges of the Commons insulted.

to go and *Vote* in any *Corporation* where they have no *Right*; If the *Mayor* or *Constable*, or whoever takes the *Poll*, admits their *Votes*, there is *One*, and perhaps *Two* *Wrong Members* returned to *Parliament*; and where shall the *Electors*, who have had the *Use* and *End* of their *Right* of *Election* taken from them by *Intruders*, and a *Timorous Officer* have *Redress*, and procure themselves to be *Rightly Represented*? Shall they have it in *Westminster-Hall*, or in the *House of Lords*? No, they profess they have nothing to do to *Determine* concerning the *Right* of *Elections*: But here is a *False Return* made, and who shall *Judge* and give *Redress*, is the *Question*. Why, 'tis confest of all *Hands*, that the *House of Commons* shall, as the only proper *Judges*. How shall they *Determine* concerning the *Election*, without judging *Sovereignty* concerning this *Right* of the *Electors*? If they can't do that, they are liable to have their *Judgments* *Revers'd*, and to have *Members* forc'd upon 'em. For the *Duencess* of an *Election* follows the *Right* of the *Electors*; and by the same *method*, that *Two* may be forc'd upon 'em, *Two Hundred* may, or indeed *Five Hundred* and *Thirteen*.

The *Rights* of the *Commons* of *England*, have been so *Religiously* *Preserv'd* and *Maintain'd* by our *Representatives* of all *Ages*, that as they have been handed down to our *Representatives* in the last *Parliament* undiminish'd by those that have preceded (except in such *Particulars*) where they have made a *Compliment* of the *People's Liberties* to the *Prince*, that they ought to have been transmitted to *Posterity*, for *Base* and *Mean* *Surrenderers* of their *Privileges* as a *House of Commons*, had not they done what they did, in the *Case* of the *Ailsbury-Men*. But this has been so learnedly discoursed upon by *Sir Humphry Mackworth*, and the *Learned Treatise* of *pro Aris & Focus*, That the *Reader* is referr'd thither for his farther satisfaction.

But let us suppose that the *Mayor* or *Constable* does his *Duty*, like an *Honest*, *Couragious Man*, and *refuses* to take their *Poll*; and the *Lord* in his *Pride* and *Wrath*, orders 'em every one to bring a *several Action* against that *Mayor* or *Constable*, and bears them out in it at his own *Expence*; the *Judges* bring this to *Trial*, and do *Justice* thereupon, and declare the *Plaintiff* had no *Right* to *Poll*; yet what *Reparation* to the *Poor Man*, who has born the *Charge* of *Twenty Suites*? Does our *Law* give sufficient *Damages* in such *Vexatious Suites*? No, but the *Lord* causes them to bring *Writs* of *Error*, and gets the *Judgments* of *Westminster Hall*
Perplexity of Elections and Danger to their Freedom arising therefrom.

Re-

Revers'd, and *Great Damages* given to the *Appellants*; then here is an *Honest* Man ruin'd for doing his Duty. Will not this make *All* Men Free-Holders or Free Men, of what County or Corporation they shall please to take a Liberty with their *Consciences* in? 'Tis no Answer to say that the *Lords* are not capable of such manifest *Injustice*; 'twas rightly said, That *they that may do Right, may do Wrong*; and when Men violently Thrust themselves into the Judgment of a Cause, 'tis shrewdly to be suspected that the meer Love of Impartial Justice was not their only Motive.

'Suppositions can never be taken for Truths, and tho' a Lord be not suffer'd in *Propria Persona* to Vote for Members of Parliament, and there are many Votes of the House of Commons repugnant of any P--rs interfering with Elections yet certainly his Tenants are not debar'd from their Rights of Voting. No; but they are not to Vote where they have no Vote. A Man may have a Right to Vote in *Buckingham*, yet that does not argue, that he shall Poll for *Ailsbury*. But I cannot entertain any thing of a Supposition of this Nature, that any Lord upon the Refusal of his Tenants Votes where they have no Right, would order his Tenants to take out each of them a Writ against the Person that takes the Poll, for it is so mean a Surmise that it destroys it self, in being beneath the Dignity of any *English* P--r whatsoever. (*Vide Barnardiston's Case lately printed.*)

We do not say that this is exactly the Case of the *Constables* of *Aylesbury*, for the late *Constables* of *Aylesbury* have as yet had but *Six* several *Actions* brought against 'em, and of *Aylesbury* these but *One* has been brought to Judgment in *Westm'n-ry* case. *Her-Hall*, and from thence removed by *Writ* of *Error* into the House of *Lords*; and the Judgment thereupon Revers'd, and *Great Damages* (for beyond what the *Appellant* was ever thought worth) given to the *Appellant*; nor has any *Noble Lord* own'd that the *Plaintiffs* are his *Tenants* or *Servants*, or directly and expressly avow'd that they *Sue* by his Order, and at his Charges. For tho' a * *Noble Lord* did tell some of us at a *Free Conference*, That he knew a * *Lord* a great deal of the matter, perhaps he might not mean of *Wh--tn*. the *Contrivance* and *Charges* of these *Suits*: For 'tis possible, these Men being *Extream* Poor, were therefore resolv'd to Vindicate their Pretended Right at an Expence, which they knew themselves far *Unable* to bear; and that knowing by their *Great Acquaintance* in *Westminster-Hall*, and a *Superior Court* from some *Suits* of his Own, what a *Strenuous* *Assertor* of other Mens Rights that *Noble P--r* was, they might presume upon his *Support* without his *Privity*, in a Case so full of *Precedents*.

'This Paragraph favours of such dissingenuous Reflections upon a Person of his *L--p's* known Probity, that the less we say of it will tend the more to our Purpose, and it's sufficient to say it deserves no other Remark, than that it is red hot Malice, and burn

ing Envy, and that *Vir Loquitur qui Pauca Saw-Pit*, is a reply to it.

* *Inhabitants
of Cottages up-
on the Town
Walls that re-
ceived Arms.*

The Rank, Education, and Other Circumstances of the * *Plaintiffs*, incline us to think they might dispence with the Ceremony of *Writing*, a thing, *Persons* of their Quality are seldom good at; and that their present Familiarity with that Noble L--d, their Interest in him, and his Knowledge of them, and their Case, may proceed from a Natural Instinct, a Generous Sympathy between Great Souls without any Information. Nay and 'tis possible, we say possible, that his L-----ps Agent, Mr. Cl-----n, might without any Warrant or Order from his L-----p, pay for their Lodgings in Newgate de *Proprio*, only in Maintenance of their Cause, or for some Extraordinary Graces and Charms he (after his L-----ds great Example) met with in their Persons and Conversation: But if the Lawyers too, a Race of Men, generally insensible to all Charms but those of Money; we say, if these Men Impregnable to Grace, should have been Inspir'd with the same Generous Sentiments, and shaking off the Mercenary Love of Filthy Lucre, have resolv'd without Fees, Right or Wrong; and in Spite of Law, Reason or Par-----nt, to Maintain the Pretension of these Bewitching Men, and the Laws and Customs of the Borough, notwithstanding to make 'em Free Burghers of Aylesbury, the Case would be full of Wonder and Astonishment. But O Graceless, Obdurate H—se of C-----ns, that didst not Melt like Wax before the Fire, at the approach of such Wonder-working Men to this City; as could so soften a Noble L——d, not fam'd for Softness, and Four Famous Lawyers as Hard as Flints, O Happy Aylesbury, whose very Refuge is so Surprising, what must thy Chief Burghers be, when such Alluring Persons are pass'd away from thy Parishes!

'These Ironies are the confoundedst things in the World, and of pernicious Consequences some Times, as the Author of the *Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, can testify from his known Experience, and I must tell you this, that all Lawyers are not of the same Complexion, and though the Man that gave the Messenger of the H—se of C-----ns the drop through the Window, has not pleaded so many Causes in *Forma Pauperis*, as any other Gentleman of the long Robe, that is no Argument that he did not do it in the poor Mens Case, neither if he had his Fee, is it a Consequence that he should have it from the L---W-----n.

*Hardships
that may rise
upon this Prece-
dent to all Offi-
cers taking the
Poll at Electi-
ons.*

But if all this should not Spring from meer Inspiration and Rapture, (but as it does sometimes in human Affairs) from foul Practice, Confederacy and Collusion; and if these Men neither Sue for their own Sakes, nor with their own Money, but are prompted and supported by some Great Person, who is resolv'd to command that Borough, or perhaps to break a Way through the H—se of C-----ns; then

then the real Case of the Constables of *Aylesbury* may very far exceed the foregoing suppos'd Case in hardship ; and these six Actions may be but the Forerunners of Six-Score more. At this rate the most Substantial Mayor or Officer, concern'd in taking the Poll at any Place, may be ruin'd by the false Actions of Beggars ; against whom he can have no remedy, but that which the Proverb assigns him. This is downright breaking the Fences of Freehold, and levelling the Man of Property and Privilege, with him that has Neither ; for what Officer will dare to refuse a Vote, though he should know that the Person who offers it has no *Right*, and is a Beggar ; when he knows that he may be Sued, and tho' he shou'd Nonsuit the Plaintiff, can recover no Costs of him who is not worth a Groat. Beggars on the other Hand, will be ready at all times to present themselves at Elections as Purse-Proud busy Men shall direct ; and to lend their Names to Vexatious Suits, that by being the Instruments of their Ambition or Revenge, they may entitle themselves to their Encouragement and Support : But the Privilege of the People as Free Holders, Citizens, Free-Burghers ; and Inhabitants of Counties, Cities, Towns-Corporate and Boroughs, vanishes under a Promiscuous Usurpation, and the House of C———ns will be fill'd with the *Representatives* of *Vassals*, *Beggars* and *Vagabonds*, instead of those of the People, which puts an End at once to Free Parliaments, which take Name and Essence from the Freedom and Independency of the Electors, who have upon that score only a Right to send *Representatives* to *Parliament*.

'If such foul Practices arise from Confederacy and Collusion, and 'it be found that any P——r of the Realm, or any other great 'Man whatsoever assists them in these undue Prosecutions, the 'way is not to Sue the Persons set at Work to prosecute us for Damages, but to I——— their *Abettors*. A good round I——— ment will do their work immediately, and be of such Consequence as to deter others from giving the like Assistance in Affairs, which they have no manner of concern in. It will so says the poor undone Complainant that takes the Poll, if the Person Impeach'd be a C———r, but it is his Unhappiness, he's under another Appellation, and Impeachments generally turn to little Effect, especially in Things of this Nature, when a Man is to be judg'd by his P——rs. *Out upon him for an unlucky Fellow to dare to question the Justice of the H—— of L——ds, as if the Maxim that holds Kings can do no wrong, was not partly verify'd in those that are Kings Companions.*

He that takes away the Privileges that distinguish between a Vassal and a Slave, and a Freeman, takes away Freedom it self, which consists in the Sovereign or unrestrained Exercise of certain Privileges, of which that of being bound only by Laws of our own making is the Greatest, and the very Founda-
tion

*Freedom its self
Impair'd by
such Usurpations.*

tion of all the rest. This we Exercise by our Representatives, and by them only; it being Impracticable for the Collective Body of the People to Assemble and Exercise in their own Persons the Powers which they delegate, because of the greatness of the Nation. But if the Nature of the Representation be alter'd and impair'd, then our Liberty which subsists in it, is impair'd likewise. If the Liberty of our Representatives be Invaded, the Liberties of Us, by whom they are sent as Plenipotentiaries to Transact for Us as Fully as if We were in our own Persons present, are therein Invaded. For what they *Do* is our *Act*, and what is done to *Them* is done to *Us*: What *Powers* they have were given by Us, and what is taken from them, is taken from Us, who can Exercise our Powers in General no other way. If then any Privileges of the House of Commons have been Invaded, the Privileges of all the People have been Invaded, and consequently their Liberties. For in the Exercise of Privilege, which signifies an Exemption from Foreign Jurisdiction in those Matters for which Privilege is Pleaded able consists our Liberty. So that Privilege is nothing else but that Reserve of Liberty, which we have not submitted to the Dominion of any thing but our own Reason. This is to be understood of the General and Common Privileges of the whole People, and not of any separate or personal Privileges of particular Societies or Men, which being founded on Concessions or Grants, are limited by the Conditions express'd in those Grants from whence they are deriv'd.

' If what is done to our Representatives is done to us, and
' what they do is our Act, since what Power they have is given by
' us, then it behoves us to stand by them in the Exercise of that
' Authority which is delegated to them from us, as our own Act
' and Deed, and not transfer that Right which is due to them, to
' another Estate, *viz.* the Lords, who are no Judges in Cases of
' Breach of Privilege belonging to the Commons, nor have ever
' attempted to take that under Cognizance in their House, which
' has been time out of Mind only Debated in St. Stephen's Chappel.
(Vide, *Shaftsbury's Case* lately printed.)

Of these Privileges, as being the Remains of natural Liberty, and the only Pledges of Civil, the
What Privilege is, and in whose Keeping. Body to which they appertain are, and can only
be, the Keepers or Judges, which, in this Case, are
Terms Synonimous. For whensoever they shall trust the Keeping,
or Judgments of 'em to any others whomsoever, they cease to be,
and with 'em the Liberty of that People or Body is gone, and they
become *Alieni Juris*, Subject to the Dominion of others, even in
the Maker of their Privilege. For He that hath a Power to
judge Sovereignty in any Matter, that is, to cause his Judgment to
be receiv'd without Appeal, is the Absolute Disposer of that Mat-
ter: He can allow or disallow it, it continues or ceases at his Plea-
sure. If therefore such Sovereign shall permit to any People the
Use

Use of such Absolute Privileges, whatever they may seem to be in the Exercise of 'em, they lose their Name, and dwindle into meer Courtesies, Temporary Concessions. which have but a Precarious Being, and are revocable at the Will and Pleasure of such Supreme Judge.

' The Commons of *England* may be the Keepers of these Rights; but it does not follow from thence, say the contrary Party, but these Commons when Elected, may assume a Power to themselves Absolutely Independent of their Electors, and Christen themselves into a second long P——t, and what becomes of your Freedom then, and who is to be apply'd to, to interpose in your Behalf? To which I answer the Suppositions granted, which is a Postulatum few would admit of: in matters of Privilege we are not to apply to a Superior Estate, since no Estate can Relieve Persons in Execution, neither can we Redress our Selves since the Power is given out of our own Hands, but by Remonstrances and Petitions, which should excite us to chuse only such for the future as deserve to be Conservators of our Liberties, and will neither betray us themselves, nor surrender up our Rights into other Hands. If therefore our Privilege be in the Keeping of the Commons, we cannot Transfer 'em over to others, without a Manifest Injustice to our Selves, a great hardship to them, and a Breach made into the Customs of our Predecessors, since, if once parted with, they cease to be ours for ever.

If this had been rightly considered, it might have shorten'd the dispute between the *Lords and Commons* about the *Aylesbury Men's Writs of Error* very much, and might put an end to the Senseless Clamour of some Bawling Fellows that still make a Villainous Noise about it. For to judge Solely and Sovereignly of all Matters touching Elections, appears Indisputably to be the Privilege of the House of C——ns, as well by the Confession of the Lords themselves in this very Dispute, as from the very Nature of such Privileges already laid down from the Statute Law, and from the uninterrupted Course of the Practice of Parliament. Now if that be a Privilege of the House of C——ns they, and they only ought to judge when that Privilege is broken. For he that by his Judgment can limit or retrench it, may, by the very same Authority, make it no Privilege at all. For if the House of C——ns does commit for Breach of Privilege, and the House of Lords by Writ of Error, takes this Commitment into Judgment before them, and judges that the Person so Committed shall have a *Habeas Corpus*; if the Commons submit to this Judgment of the Lords, What does their Privilege or Power of Commitment for the Breach of it signify more than the House of Lords pleases, except it be to give the Lords a sort of Authority over 'em, to which, but for the Privilege, the

*Privilege of
C——ns Af-
firmed.*

the Lords could make no pretence? So that from the Privilege of the Commons this Absurdity wou'd follow, that meerely by their reserv'd Liberty they would become Subject to the Lords. Their Privileges (if the Lords must be Judges of 'em) instead of being a Reserve of their Natural, and Pledges of their Civil Liberty, wou'd be a Snare to 'em, and Hamper 'em perpetually with the Jurisdiction of the Lords, who, according to the Humour they are now in, wou'd probably give it sufficient Exercise.

'The Persons whose Privileges they are, are the best Judges of the Breach of them, and it wou'd be of no Validity for the Commons of England to have any Privileges, unless they were Invested with a Power to defend them. For if they had only the Power of Commitment, without the Authority to detain in Custody, and the House of P—rs, upon every such Commitment, should enlarge the Prisoners again by a Writ of Error, to what end would it be in our Representatives to take upon them to order Offenders to be taken into Custody, when it's not in their Power to punish them without their L-----p's Leave?

Privilege receives Limitations from those only that give it Being. If the Privileges of the Commons of England had sprung originally from the Grace and Bounty of the Lords; if they had no other Foundation than their Concession, the Lords might with some colour of Reason pretend to Limit the Exercise of 'em: For it looks at least like a reasonable Plea, that they who Grant any Thing, should in all Disputes about it, be Judges of the Extent and Meaning of their own Grant; but the Reverse of this is certain (and it shall be made out at large, if the Lords Challenge it) That these Privileges had a Being long before the Race of Lords existed, and that Lords are the Creatures of those that own'd these Privileges. We were told by some of the Lords at the Free Conference on this Subject, that Arguing from Consequences was Impertinent, if it was the Law, it shou'd be the Law, let the Consequence be what it wou'd; of which we can make no other Construction, than that they did Declare (as it were in the Name of all the Lords) that whatever Power they cou'd get over Us, they wou'd keep, be it never so Unreasonable or Grievous: But then why did they not shew us the Law that gives 'em the Power over our Privileges, which they pretended to in this Instance? A Learned Manager for the Commons enumerated the several Species of Law in Use in England, and Challeng'd 'em to shew which of 'em favour'd their Pretensions, and demonstrated, that the Power they pretended to wou'd Destroy 'em All. But since we are not to Talk of Consequences, we will respite that Head till Anon, and only desire to know how the Law comes to be on their Side; at the Conference they did not vouchsafe Us either Law, Precedents or Reason; and we cou'd find no sign that the Law was on their Side, but their own Words for it.

'The

'The Power of the House of C——ns is Certainly limited by
'that of the House of L—— in all matters, but what relate to Breach
'of Privilege, and though the Commons are undoubtedly of a longer
'standing than the L——ds, and precedent to them in Time, the Latter
'outvie Them in Dignity and Authority since the first is a Court of
'Judicature and can determine and make Null things that have been
'allowed and decreed Even in the High Court of *Chancery* it self, and
'the last can take cognizance of nothing that is Foreign to Parlia-
'mentary *Enquirys*. Not but if they declar'd, *What ever Power their*
'L——ps could get over the C——s, they would keep it, the C——ns
'were to look to Themselves, and take care that they get into no
'more Power than what is their Due.

There is no *Privilege of Parliament* so expressly pro-
vided for by *Act of Parliament*, as the sole *Determinati-* Some *Privi-*
on of all *Matters* relating to *Elections* in the House of *leges why pro-*
Commons. This particular Care was not taken, be- *vided for by*
cause that *Privilege* was thought more *Disputable* than *express Laws;*
any of the rest, for it was never attempted upon till *others not.*
now ; nor because the *Privileges* of the *Commons* were
not thought as *Secure* without an *Act of Parliament* as with it : For it
stands upon the same *Foot* with the *Authority* of *Parliaments* it Self,
and is part of the *Original Contract*, if there be any ; but it was ex-
press'd in an *Act* (as the *Privilege* of the *Persons* of *Members* for the
same Reason) that *Mayors*, *Sheriffs*, *Bailiffs*, *Constables*, and who are
usually no very Nice *Judges* of the *Privileges* of *Parliament*, yet have
a great deal to do with *Elections* for *Parliament* out of the time of *Ses-*
sion, might exactly know their *Duty*, and presume no farther : The
Act therefore does not create any *New Privilege* to the *Commons*, or
give any greater *Force* than the *Old One* had, but *Recognizes* and
Publishes it only to the whole *Nation*, that they whom it concerns may
take *Notice*.

'Matters of *Elections* are what the C—— only shou'd be *Judges*
'of, as directly concern'd in them; and if there was an express *Act*
'made for that purpose, it was indisputably made to strengthen that
'Right. And if *Mayors*, *Sheriffs*, *Bailiffs*, *Constables*, &c. were
'inform'd of their *Duties* in it, 'twas to let them know, that upon
'the Breach of those *Duties*, they were responsible to those *Persons*
'who are the only *Judges* of *Parliamentary Privileges*, the C——s
'in P—— assembled.

If the *Constables* of *Aylesbury* had refus'd to take *Specifick Re-*
the Poll of any *Persons*, who had a *Right* to *Vote*, *medy to be had*
they ought to have *Complain'd* to the House of *Com-* in the H——se
mons, who cou'd have given their *Votes* their due of C——ns,
Force by allowing 'em there ; and could have expell'd and no where
the *Sitting Members*, if for want of their *Votes*, a *else.*
false Return had been made. This had been a *Specifick Remedy,*

and had settled their Right for the future. But this neither *Westminster-Hall*, nor the *House of Lords* cou'd pretend to give 'em. What then did they go thither for? Why for Damages! Damages for what? Did they lose the sale of their Votes? Or did the Purchaser come upon 'em to Oblige 'em to Refund? We wou'd be glad that their *Great Friend*, who professes so frankly to know so much of the Matter, wou'd be pleas'd to open a little of that *Mystery* to Us; for we are apt to think that it was the *Purchaser* who Sued for his *Bargain*, and that very little wou'd have been given for such Votes if it had not been to create a *Dispute* that might open a *Gap* in the *Privileges* of the Commons, and let in the *Jurisdiction* of the *Lords* upon 'em. But why did they not bring their *Complaint* into the *House of Commons*? Can any other *Reasons* be given than these? Either that they doubted their Cause, and therefore would not trust it, where, upon a *Full Hearing*, it might be dismiss'd with the Complement of being *Groundless*, *Fruitless*, and *Vexatious*; or that the *Method* was, not like to be *Grievous* enough to the *Constables* or (which we are upon *Good Grounds* satisfied was the *Main Reason*) that it did not expose the *Privileges* of the Commons to the *Judicature* of the *Lords*. What deep *Statesmen* would these *Aylesbury Men* have made, if they had been taught to *Read* and *Write*!

'If the A——y Complainants had apply'd to the C——s, they wou'd undoubtedly have had redress of Grievances, provided there was any such thing to be found as cause of Complaint; For the only remedy was to be had there; and I am of the Author's Opinion, that they doubted their Cause, and therefore would not trust it in a place where the Members were appriz'd of their irregular conduct, and wou'd dismiss them with the accustomed Resolve of their Petition being *Groundless*, *Vexatious* and *Erivulous*, *Sr. Roger's H—ll's* old Sentence of *Condemnation*.

Consequen- The Plot however was well laid, for if the House
ces of the Ayl- of Commons had not stop't their Career by Advert-
esbury At- ing upon 'em, the L——s had gone roundly on to Judge
tempt. of the Merits of *Elections*, and so to have brought the
H—— of C——s, which is Co-ordinate to them, to have been Subject,
and as they did Advert it, gave the *Faction* an Opportunity of Clamour-
ing against the *House of Commons*, as *Arbitrary* and *Oppressive*, and the
L——s to set up for *Patriots*, *Assertors* of the *Liberties* of the *People*.
The Commons committed the *Aylesbury Men*, and their *Agents*, and
the *Lords* pretended to *Discharge* 'em from that Commitment by a
Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, upon a *Writ* of *Error*; but the Commons deni-
ed the *Jurisdiction* of the *Lords* in this Case, and refus'd to part
with their *Prisoners*. This *Clamorous Faction*, who in our *Me-
mories* were for resolving all Civil Power into the *Authority* of the
House of Commons, as the *Representatives* of the *People*, because the
*Fa*ction fancied they had then a more particular Interest in that

House;

House; now the Majority is better Principled and Dispos'd towards Establishment, call Arbitrary, Illegal, and Oppressive Proceedings. If it were really so, the Whigs, of all Men, should be silent on that Head, because they have been the most Notorious of all Men living for Stretching the Prerogative of the H—e even beyond its due Bounds: So that if from their past and present Practice compar'd, we are to form any Conclusion concerning the Power of the C——s in Parliament, it can be this only, That a Whig H—e, whether of C——s or L——s, has all the Power of the Nation committed to 'em, and is Absolute and Uncontroulable; but a House of Monarchical Church Principles has none at all, nor can exercise any Power or Privilege, but as the other House (if it happens to be Whig enough) pleases to permit.

As for the Plot's being well layed let those make that appear that had any concern in it; for my part I cannot but consider as an English Man, and a Commoner, that Co-ordinate Powers ought not to be in Subjection to one another; and as I have the profoundest Respect for the L——s, who constitute two of the three Estates. So I cannot but think it would be the highest Injury done to the Lower House in Parliament to be in a State of Subjection, while it is in a state of Co-ordination.

This as absurd as it seems, is the Rule of all their Practice, and the Aim and End of their Libeller's Pamphlets, tho' they dare not be so Ingenious, as to tell the World so in plain Familiar Language. And were We at Leisure to trace their Foot Steps. We might prove it by a thousand Instances. But tho' neither this Great Whig Maxim, nor their Practice be justifiable, yet should We tread in their Steps, no Whig that has not a Face of Brass, could Reproach us for it. But as We detest the Examples of their Faction, so we Scorn to justify our selves only by an *Argumentum ad Hominem*, and think a Recrimination a just Defence. Tho' we can't but observe what Base Recants these Modern Whigs are, who to set-up their New Patrons, and serve a present Turn, Recant all their old Principles, and Condemn all that their Predecessors or Themselves have done for these Three or Four Score Years, not excepting what was justifiable, and according to their Strict Duty. But whether the Whigs had ever Defended the Privileges, and Power of a House of Commons, it was certainly the Duty of as many of 'em, as have had the Honour to set in that House, to do it, otherwise they were guilty of a Breach of the Trust committed to 'em.

Some Gentlemen in the Upper House that had been formerly leading M——rs in the Lower, might have instructed their Pupils better as to the Right of the C——ns of E——nd, had they consulted the good of E——nd, and the Honour and Reputation of the Nation in a Fair Correspondence between L——d and C——s; but

Present Maxims and Practices of the Whigs contradictory to their former.

but they would not part with their Modern Tenents, which was to
 ' inflame misunderstandings under the Notion of persuading to Peace,
 ' and create Divisions among two Partys, that a third like the *Polish*
 ' Indifference, might come in and run away with the Prize from
 ' both.

Yet how they shou'd be able to defend the Rights
Right supposes of the Commons of *England*, who send 'em up to
Law and Power Parliament for that Purpose, unless they have a
to defend it. Power to Punish any Invasions upon 'em, and open

Affronts to their Authority, is a Riddle, that it
 would puzzle *Oedipus* to resolve. *Data facultate datur jus facultatem*
tuendi, is the Foundation of all the Law in the World. For what does
 Property signify if we have no Power to defend that Property? Be-
 cause in the State of Nature, Men were frequently unable to with-
 stand single the Violence of Invaders; Civil Government was in-
 vented, and Magistrates created, to terminate Differences among
 one another, and by Joynt-Force to Repel and punish that Vio-
 lence, which separately they were not able to resist. But it is not to
 be suppos'd, that when they submitted to Rules (which are call'd
 Laws) by which, for the Ease of the Communities, and the facili-
 tating of Justice, the Magistrates were empower'd to protect the In-
 dividual from the Insults of one another, that they left the Gross of
 the Community naked and open to the Insults of Particulars. No!
 But either they committed it to the Care and Protection of the Ma-
 gistrate, by which the Magistrate became absolute Monarch, unless
 they did reserve a Power of Controuling him in the Execution of his
 Office, and then the Sovereignty remain'd still in the People.

' No Man can defend a Right without a Power to support it, and
 ' it's just the same as if He had no Right at all, not to be able to make
 ' Head against Encroachment upon it, wherefore if the *H—of C—nt*
 ' had a Claim to sit as Judges between Party and Party in Contested
 ' Elections, they had also a Title to Enable 'em as Judges to pass
 ' Sentence pursuant to the said Title, and vindicate them as to the
 ' Justice of the Sentence so pass'd upon any Delinquent that should Act
 ' in Contempt of their Authority.

Our Constitution is of a Nature partaking of both
Excellency of these kinds, and therefore rightly call'd a limited mix-
our Constitu- ed Monarchy, wherein stated Rules of Government
tion. are contriv'd by the People, and receive their Sancti-

on from the King, but the Execution of 'em is left to
 him, who acting all things by his Ministers, is therefore not account-
 able himself to any Power in the Nation, nor punishable in his own
 Person (which is sacred) for any Misgovernment; but his Ministers,
 who are the immediate Agents, altho' acting by his Commands, are
 responsible to the People, and punishable if they exceed the Commis-
 sion given them in the Law. But if the Commons are not able to

Vindicate

Vindicate themselves, and their own Authority, from the rude Insults and Attempts of the meanest of their own Body. How shall they pretend to protect themselves from the Oppression of the Ministers, who usually are of another Body, and part of another Estate (or have Interest enough at Court to get themselves remov'd to it, whenever they find the Wind in their Teeth) over which the Commons claim no Jurisdiction?

• If the King is not accountable to the People, but the Ministry, what Care should those that are in the Cabinets of Princes, and that sit at the Helm of Government take, in the Administration of the Publick Affairs? This is the Doctrine that has sav'd Empires, and preserv'd Kingdoms, since the Dread of Punishment in their own Persons has withheld them from misleading their Kings, who otherwise would be regardless, and negligent of what Violences were committed, what Depredations upon the Publick, if their Prince was to be call'd to an Account for their Mismanagements. The want of this Doctrine's not being thoroughly received in the late unfortunate K—J—'s Time, occasion'd the Mismanagements that were the Cause of his D———t, since had his M———y been severely Animadverted upon, according to this Maxim, and their vile Abuses of their poor Sovereign exemplarily punish'd, &c. —nd, and his treacherous Crew had been Sufferers, not that unhappy King.

On the other hand, the Lords themselves confess, and it would be as dangerous as ridiculous to deny it, that the Commons are one of the *Three Estates* of the Realm; a *third* part of the *Sovereign Legislative Power*, and as such have Rights and Privileges Absolute and Independent of the other two, as the other two have of them, which separate Rights, neither do nor ought to Interfere with each other. But it is absurd to confess all this, and yet to pretend, that the Violation of the *Rights and Privileges of any one of the Estates* shall be submitted to the Judgment of *Another*; for that Submission creates a Dependance and Subjection for those Rights. It is yet more Absurd to imagine, that the *Commons* should reserve to themselves certain Rights and Privileges on the *Full and Free Exercise* of which depends all their Liberty, and yet shou'd leave that Exercise precarious, and at the Mercy of the other Estates. Yet so it is, if either the Queen's Courts, or the Lords may judge decisively of the Violation of 'em.

Commons one of the three Estates and their Rights neither precarious nor dependent on any other.

• If the L——ds allow them to be the *third Estate*, and to have a part of the *Sovereign Legislative Power*, they must of Consequence be Independent of the other, in the Exercise of their Privileges and Immunities; but of this so much has been said in our daily Pamphlets; particularly, in one call'd, *A Vindication of the*

* *House of Commons*, that it would be needless to take upon me to
 * illustrate the several Instances produced on that Head.

To avoid this Absurdity (as the Commons have in
Distinction their Arguments at the Free Conference rightly ob-
us'd at the served) the Lords have had recourse to a Distinction
Conference without Difference between the Merits of the *Election*
without Difference. and the Right of the *Electors*, as if one did not ne-
 cessarily flow from t'other. To avoid any unnecessa-
 ry Dispute about the Judicature of the Lords, which

these late Attempts have given occasion to look more nearly into,
 than had otherwise been done: We will allow, that there are many
 Cases which may draw any or every Commoner under the Judgment
 of their Lordships; and we desire, however unkind they have been
 to us, that their Judicature may be preserv'd to 'em intire, and in
 its just extent: But we deny, that the *Right* of any Commoner *qua*
Electors, is upon any pretence whatsoever, subject to the Judgment of
 the Lords, or the Crown; because the Judgment of such *Rights* does
 virtually include a Judgment of the *Merits of Elections*, and creates
 such a Dependence as formally overthrows the *Liberties* of all the
Commons of England.

* When some People are to seek how to carry on an Argument, it
 * is natural for them to have recourse to Distinctions, and fence off the
 * Evidence and Convictions of Truth by the means of intricate Terms;
 * Aristotle's *Materialiter* and *Formaliter* will keep off the Respondent
 * from a Dilemma for some time, but at last the Truth gets Ground
 * of Distinction, though it be as unintelligible as that between the
 * *Merits of the Election*, and *the Right of the Electors*.

As upon the reserving the Judgment of these *Rights*
Commons as depends the *Preservation* of 'em, so the punishing of all
equitable *Invasions* of them, as a Branch of that Judicature be-
Judges as the longs to the Commons only; nor can the House depart
Lords. from it without betraying the Liberties of those whom

they represent: Nor can we see where lies the Danger
 of Oppression from this Power of the Commons; nor why they may
 not as well be trusted with the Personal Liberty of their Principals, as
 the Lords, or any Court whatsoever; but on the contrary, there
 are many Reasons that shew 'em to be fitted for that Trust, beyond
 the Lords, or any Court whatsoever. First, because they are but
 Commoners, and Themselves by the same Authority, and for the same
 Reasons, expos'd to any Hardships, which the Lords in many Points
 are not; and consequently, having no Apprehension of being reach'd
 by their own Precedent, not likely to be so tender. Secondly, They
 are chosen by the People, and derive their Authority from their
 Choice, which no doubt but most of 'em resent as a great Obligation.
 And Lastly, (not to multiply Arguments in a plain Case) their Au-
 thority is of but short Duration, but of *Three Years* at most, and their
Elections

Elections precarious, which obliges 'em to behave themselves with abundance of Circumspection and Deference to their Electors, if they expect to serve any more in that Capacity; none of which Inducements to Tenderness are to be found among the Lords, who have Personal Privileges far surpassing those of the Commons, as well in Extent as Duration; who represent only Themselves, and are a perpetual, immutable Body, not liable to be put out of Authority for any abuse of their Power; and lastly, who are many of 'em tainted with the common Disease of *Humane Grandeur*, and apt to think themselves of a *Nature*, as well as Order, exalted above the Commoners, and therefore to treat them superciliously, and to exact more Respect than they are willing to return. Which way these things operate, we may see by the Contempt wherewith divers of 'em now treat us, who of the most stiff Assertors of our Power, while they were chosen by, and sat amongst us, are become the haughtiest Oppugners of it, even in the most indisputable Branches; and to let us see how ill Souls, not truly Noble, bear Advancement, we meet with more Candor and Regard from the Ancient Nobility, than from many of those who have been but lately taken from among us.

' When the Principals have invested their Representatives with their Rights and Liberties, certainly they may be intrusted with them, much better than any others, and the Obligation they lie under to them for this Trust and Confidence, should be an Argument, and an Insurance to the People, of good Usage from their Hands, especially since that Choice is precarious, and it lies in their Breasts to take others in their stead every *Three Years*; for it is not rational to suppose, but they will behave themselves faithfully in the Charge of that Trust, on Account of the short Duration of it; which is not so with the *P---rs*, whose Right of sitting in *P---* is Hereditary.

But all these Considerations, how operative soever, notwithstanding if any Commoners will be so Fool-hardy, we may say traiterously to themselves, Mutinous, and endeavour to subvert their own Power in that of their *Representatives*, it is no wonder to see 'em committed by 'em for it. The Duty of their Trust oblig'd 'em to it, to deter others from the like Attempts, and they had been unworthy of it, if their Tameness had betray'd it to more such Assaults. The Forbearance in the first Attack of *Ashby*, was a Fault that drew after it the rest, and is scarce sufficiently repair'd by their Courage and Vigilance since: Nor is it any more to be wonder'd at, to see some Lords espouse their Quarrel, and under pretence of Publick Spirit and Care of the Liberties of the People, to Stalk by these Fellows to Arbitrary Power, to which nothing is so great a Bar as the Power of the House of

Commons
bound in duty
to commit
for Insults
upon their
Rights or Au-
thority.

Commons,

Commons, which therefore must be deprest by those that aim at it.

‘ True, nothing is so great a Defence against Arbitrary Power as the Power of the House of Commons, which I pray GOD may promote such *Bills* as may effectually stop the least Attempts of that kind for the future, since we have had such Instances from their great Zeal, on occasion of the late Revolution; and it is to be hop’d, that the same Providence that inspir’d ’em with Wisdom, to vindicate the Rights of the People whom they represented, in bringing in a *Bill* for settling the Succession, will endue them with such Noble Resolutions, as shall vindicate their own Personal Rights as the third Estate and maintain their Independency to future Ages.

Design of the Aylesbury Suit. We are not unawares for what Ends and by whom this Suit was carried on, which these Beggars lend their Names to; but such Fellows who have no property of their own to Secure, are the fittest to be employ’d to break down the Fences of other Mens; had they had never so legal Votes, their Cause might have Starv’d, and themselves might have Rotted in Goal, ’ere there had been such Struggling for their Liberty, if the Privilege of Commons, the Right of Elections, and the Commitments of the House had not been struck at by it. Cou’d they have prevail’d, and render’d Commitments by the Commons for Breach of Privilege, subject to their Judgments. Such is the Corruption and Degeneracy of this Age, that they might have had Volunteers enow of a certain *Faction* to have Affronted and Insulted the Authority of that House, with hopes of Impunity. For this the *Habeas Corpus* Act was so insisted upon by those who knew, that no Court in England wou’d allow it in a Case of Contempt; and that which all look upon as an Inseparable Adjunct of their Authority, by Commitment to punish an Affront was denied to that Court, which knows no Superior, which was never yet Disputed with the Lowest. A Commitment by the House of Commons being in Execution of their Sentence for Punishment; not Tryal, there was no pretence for a *Habeas Corpus*, much less for a *Writ of Error*, which is an Appeal from the Judgment of an Inferior Court to a Superior; which no Court, not the House of Lords it self has yet openly pretended to be. This is the first Overt Attempt to make it so, while they dare not call it so, and we hope it will be the last; at least we look upon it to be our Duty to watch and resist all such Attempts, which if they succeed, must prove fatal to the Liberties of the People, and by swallowing up the Rights and Privileges of the Commons, render ’em a *Precarious Body Dependant* on the Lords, and alterable at Pleasure, and so have prov’d the first great Step towards such an *Aristocracy*, as some People seem to drive at, to which but Two Steps more had been necessary to accomplish it, the pulling down the C—— and the C——, which God give our next Representatives Courage and Wisdom to preserve.

If

' If this Suit was carry'd on upon any ill Design, it is not so Dif-
 ' ficult a Thing to find it out, as is imagin'd, Matters may be
 ' brought to light by the same means they are carry'd on by,
 ' and the only Means to defeat an Enémies Measures is to make
 ' use of his own Weapons. Money was the Thing, and the Pro-
 ' tection and Promises of Great Men, suppos'd to be the Inducements
 ' that push'd the *Aylesbury* Men forward to commence their Suit, to
 ' insist upon the Legality of the *Writ of Error*, and dare to Afront a
 ' House of *Commons* then Sitting, and touch them in the nicest
 ' Point could be thought of, (*viz.*) in the great Concerns of their
 ' Privileges, which have alway been so strenuously asserted by their
 ' Predecessors. Now, as Money is suppos'd to be the Chief Mo-
 ' tive that induc'd these Beggars to stand up in Opposition to
 ' the Determinations of their Representatives; so Promises of a Par-
 ' liamentary Reward, may prevail upon them to Discover the Au-
 ' thors and Promoters of the Differences between the two Houses the
 ' last Session, which might have had fatal Consequences, had not the
 ' Q——n prevented them by her Royal Wisdom, in Preroguing
 ' them, that so they might be brought to Punishment, as Betrayers of
 ' their Country, and common Incendiaries, who under the notion
 ' of Liberty would Enslave the Nation, and subject one Estate of
 ' the Kingdom to the Dominion and Arbitrary Power of another
 ' that cannot Act unless in Conjunction with it.

The last House of Commons was so sensible of the
 extremam danger of the Church (and consequently
 the Government it self) was in, that they prepar'd
 a Bill to secure the Ch--ch of E——, the
 Moderation, Reasonableness, and Necessity of which Bill have
 been already largely spoken to; but the L-rds, who were either
 not so Apprehensive of the Danger, or not so Sollicitous for the
 Ch--ch, as the Commons had, rejected it twice, and the Second
 time, in a way so Unparliamentary, and that had in it so little of
 the Respect, due from one Estate to the Acts of another; which is
 so necessary to preserve a good Correspondence between the Two
 Houses, that the Commons had Reason to look upon the manner
 of rejecting their Bill as a Declaration, that there was an End of
 all Intention, to observe Measures barely Decent with 'em. It
 was with Difficulty that their Bill obtain'd one Reading, and was
 after that Hung out immediately, with divers Scornful Speeches,
 reflecting both upon the Bill, and those that sent it up. To this
 Contempt within Doors was added a greater insolence without,
 for a certain L-rd came that Evening, to a Musick Meeting
 Erected at the Play-House, by the Subscriptions of his Faction,
 with a Roll of Paper or Parchment tied up like a Bill in his Hand,
 which in the Face of all the Audiēce he threw scornfully upon the
 Publick Stage, and told 'em there was the Occasional Conformity Bill.

*Tac'ing of
 the Q——l
 C---y Bill, why
 attempted.*

em; which was immediately made the Subject of the insipid Drollery, to all the Fools that applauded that Action, The Solicitations underhand of some M——rs against that Bill concurring with and Encouraging these Insolences and Affronts, made the Commons despair, that they who had insulted 'em in so open a manner, wou'd ever be brought to hear Reason any more upon that Head; For if they took no Notice at all of these Insults, they did but encourage farther Insolencies by their Tameness, and if they resented them as they ought, the only effect it cou'd have, wou'd be to Exasperate and Inflame the Animosities that were already begun between 'em. On the other hand, they cou'd expect no Security to the Ch——ch, from the farther Deliberations of those Men, who had already made it the Scorn and Jest of a Publick Play-house: On the other hand, they saw some M——rs, who had dissembled Indifference hitherto, begin more openly to incline, whether out of Fear or for other By-ends to their Adversaries, which was likely to increase their Insolence, and render the way of Conference and Debate utterly impracticable, or at the best ineffectual and useless, as it has since prov'd: They consider'd, that at the first sending up the Bill, the L——ds of the greatest Consideration, Experience and Reason, were for the Bill, and that most of those that oppos'd it, Excepted only against a Clause or two, which mended, they declar'd themselves willing to admit it, and that with those Clauses in it; the Faction with their utmost Struggle had been able to throw it out, but by one or two, that since that those Passages had been Mended as desir'd; and that the Bill had then Miscarried only thro' the Means of a M——r or two, who were however ashamed to appear against it openly in the House, and that for all this it was lost by a very small Majority, most of 'em influenc'd by those M——rs; That from hence it was plain, that the real Scruples of the L——ds were satisfied, tho' the Designs of those M——rs might not: That the Church ought not to be Expos'd to Danger in Favour of the secret Designs of any M——rs; yet that it cou'd not be secured against any attempts of the Presbytery from *Sc——nd*, which now is Arming there by Authority, and against such as wou'd creep into Employment at Home, perhaps to favour their Attempts, but by the Bill against *Occasional Conformity*, or some such Equivalent as had not hitherto been offer'd or thought on. Since therefore the Objections made to the Bill, were obviated by the Amendments made to it, some of the Commons resolv'd to Tack it to the Land-Tax Bill, in hope that the M——rs would rather recede from their secret Designs, than hazard the losing or retarding that Supply, for the passing of which no particular Men in the Nation, cou'd pretend an equal Concern in Interest with themselves; which if they had done, a Bill which themselves confess'd to be a good one had pass'd, the Ch——ch of *E——nd*, had been Secur'd, and only a few Obstinate Persons, whose own Objections were remov'd, had been disappointed.

‘ What

' What was done by the last House of *Commons*, for the further
 ' Security of the Church of *England*, was what was agreeable to the
 ' Wisdom and Conduct of Gentlemen who were Keepers of the Li-
 ' berties of *England*, and sent up to prevent Breaches being made in
 ' the Old Laws, and sit in Consultation to see what Occasion might
 ' be for New. Their bringing in the *Bill* was so far from being Inju-
 ' rious to any Sect of Men, that it secur'd *Property*, and made no Inva-
 ' sion into any one's *Right* whatsoever. The Laws of the Land had
 ' Enacted, *That no one should be possessor of any Places of Trust, but such*
 ' *as were of the Church Established*; which *Places of Trust* carried such
 ' Invitations with them, as solicited the *Dissenters* to qualify them-
 ' selves, by receiving the *Sacrament* according to the *Establish'd Form*;
 ' and complying with such other Duties as were requir'd of them, at
 ' the same time was they conform'd with *Nonconformity* (pardon the
 ' Expression) and halted between two Opinions, neither for God or
 ' *Man* singly, but for *both* conjunctively, in Opposition to the Word
 ' of God, that says, *No Man can serve two Masters*. Now this way
 ' of Behaviour was such a Prevarication with God, and under-hand
 ' Dealing with those who were the Substitutes of his Vicegerent, that
 ' the Church could not but take Offence at it, which gave Being to
 ' the *Bill*; which though it had not its desired Success, was never-
 ' theless reasonable, and will be a standing Evidence to Posterity,
 ' that the *Lay-men* would have secur'd the Church in such a manner,
 ' that the Gates of Hell could not prevail against Her; but the *Ecclesia-*
 ' *sticks* interpos'd, and instead of being the Pillars and Buttresses to
 ' support it, were the Battering-Rams to break down the Walls of
 ' *Jerusalem*: A melancholy Story which will hardly find Credit in fu-
 ' ture Ages. As for the Second Estate in the Kingdom's Treating
 ' the other in a way that was Unparliamentary, and without Respect,
 ' Good Manners will not let me believe it, from Gentlemen so ac-
 ' complish'd, and have had all the Advantages that a high Birth, and
 ' the most consummate Education could give them; and he must ex-
 ' cuse me, if I suspend my Credit to the Account of the Noble P---s
 ' flinging down the Resemblance of the *Bill* in such an opprobrious
 ' manner, and upon the Publick Stage. The *Commons* would have
 ' resented it; nay, the *Lords* themselves would have joined with them
 ' in it; and were it Matter of Fact, as I hope 'tis not, our Author
 ' would certainly have given us the first Letters of his Name; for he
 ' does not stick at pointing out the greatest Men in the Kingdom;
 ' though I know not what to say to it, since in this Age not only the ri-
 ' diculing Things that are advanced for the Interest of Religion it self
 ' are Tolerated: But two Noble Persons (I don't say Peers) have pass'd
 ' unpunish'd, even though the Discourse of the whole Town, for pro-
 ' phaning the *Communion-Table* it self, and being Guilty of other horrid
 ' Impieties, in the Face of a Congregation met together to serve God
 ' after the Usage of the Church of *England*. *Pudet hac opprobria nobis*
 ' *& dici potuisse & non potuisse refelli.*

Clamour there-
upon Unrea-
sonable.

This Attempt has rais'd a great deal of *Unrea-
sonable, Unjust Clamour*, upon the Gentlemen that were
for it in the House, who have with open Mouth been
Aspers'd and Vilified by Rascals, that have neither
Sense, Honour, Morality nor Religion. These *Villainous Slanders* are
Printed and Publish'd almost daily, under the *Noses* of some in *Authori-
ty*, and *Ought* to be *Alverted* upon by them, but since by *Conniving*
they are pleas'd rather to *Countenance* than to *Correct* or put a *Stop* to
em, and are pleas'd to leave the *Vindication* of *Us* to our next *Meeting*,
it may be found *Necessary* to do it in a manner more *Comprehensive*
than they will like.

' Such an Affront indeed as preceeded might make the House rouse
' up their Indignation, and go out of the common Road, which is
' never taken but in Cases of Exigence, which this seems to be, and
' if they are aspersed and vilified by unreasonable, unjust and clamo-
' rous Tongues, they have it in their Power next Session to call the
' Authors of these *Printed Slanders* to an Account, since a great num-
' ber of the last *House of Commons* are chosen again, and may effect-
' ually do themselves Justice when they shall think fit.

Arguments a- The Arguments that are Brought against the Tacking of
gainst Tacking this Bill, are of two sorts, some are against the Bill it
Self, which we presume are already sufficiently *Answer-
ed*, others are against the Rights of Tacking in General, and a third
sort against it at this Juncture: Those that *Deny* the Right of Tacking
go upon the *Novelty* or *Inconvenience* of the *Practice*.

' As for Arguments against Tacking, all are free to give their Minds
' on that Head, and it was look'd on, say the *Whigs* in King Charles
' the Second's Time, as manifest Encroachments upon the Preroga-
' tives of the *Crown* in their Party, and what was an Encroachment
' then, is one now, since neither Time nor Circumstances alter the
' Nature of the Thing.

It is, they say, very *Rare*, and of very *Fresh Date*, and wou'd, if
Practis'd, take away from the *Lords* the Right of *Deliberating* on any
Bill, and thereby render their Share in the *Legislature* insignificant.
Those that *Object* against the Right of Tacking upon the Score of its
Novelty, are either very ill read in the *Ancient Practice* of *Parliaments*,
or very foul Arguers, *Lyars* that suppress Truth, and utter *Falshoods*,
which they know to be such, to deceive the People into
Answer'd. *Faction*. 'Tis probable, that the Practice of Tacking is

in Effect, as *Old* as the Peoples giving of *Money*, how-
ever new the Name may be; for 'tis reasonable to think, that when
the People were Convened to give *Money* (which was anciently the
usual, as it is now the only Cause of calling *Parliaments*) they desir'd
whatever *Grievances* they complained of; might be redress'd; and
upon that Condition gave their Money, so that instead of Tacking ve-
ry rarely, they did in effect Tack all their *Laws*. And that this was
their

their *constant Practice*, appears from all our *Histories* and *Records*; and to as plain a *Tack* as any now made, we owe our *Magna Charta*, which it self tells us, That in Consideration of divers good Laws there recited, they do *Grant* to the *King*, &c. This is not the Case of that great *Law* alone, but almost all our great *Laws*, in favour of the *People*, have been so bought. It is indeed absurd to imagine, that a *Free People* can be call'd together to give Money, which they might refuse to do if they see cause, and yet be denied any reasonable Request; which they had to make on their own behalf for their Money. To pretend to *Bully* the *People* out of their Money, without giving them the desir'd Satisfaction, is indeed a new Practice, which none but a certain *Faction* among us, who labour to confound all *Ancient Rights*, durst have ventur'd upon. It in *Ancient Times* the Generosity of *Kings*, and the simple Honesty of the *People*, did incline them to take the *Prince's Word* for the Redress of their Grievances, and in Case of pressing Necessity to give their Money first; yet this was as express a *Tack*, as if the Sum given, and Conditions upon which it was given, had been express on the same Parchment. For as the Word of a King ought to be Sacred, the Non-performance of the Conditions for which it was the Security, was as much a Robbery, as if the Money which was given for 'em had been taken from 'em by Violence. However our *Ancestors* found Reason very early, to be more cautious upon what Terms they parted with their Money, and to take care, that how many *Bills* soever they pass, the *Money-Bills* should always be the last, and remain as a Security for the Rest. The Alteration of this Practice we may truly affirm to be of very late Date, and upon what Reasons soever introduc'd, we find that the Interest of the *People* was not well consulted in it, we might here produce a long *Roll*, with a longer account of *Laws*, that are owing to *Tacks*, or an Equivalent to *Tacking*, but having taken care that an exact *History of Tacks* shall in due time be given to the *Publick*, we need not give 'em room here.

' The Debate of the *Tack* has occasion'd so many Pamphlets for and
' against it, that it will be needless to make many Observations on
' that Head. What our Author speaks here is of unquestionable Au-
' thority; and that *Tacking* is in Effect as Old as *Giving Money*, no
' Man breathing can disallow. Besides, the very Party that are a-
' gainst it now, I mean some of them, will remember they never in-
' sisted upon the Novelty of it in the late King's Reign, when they
' Tacked the Clause for the Resumption of the forfeited Estates in Ire-
' land: And several Instances might be given of the Antiquity, be-
' sides *Magna Charta*, &c. One would think they should be in Love
' with the *Tack*, on the Account of the *Habeas Corpus Act* they made
' such a stir about last Session; because that *Favourite Bill* has its Rise
' from that Original; but they are no longer for any Thing than
' while it serves their turn.

*Free giving
implies Power
of doing it
with or with-
out Condition.*

They that will take the Pains to search our *Histories* and *Records* impartially, will find, that our *Ancestors* have from *Time* Immemorial, even beyond our *Tracing*, been possess'd of the *Right* of *Tacking*, or a sufficient *E-*quivalent. But whether they had exercis'd it or not, since they have not by any Formal *Act* renounc'd it, and pass'd it away, nor in a Legal manner made it over, it descends in as full Force to us, their Heirs and Successors, as ever they enjoy'd it. We shall not here enter into any Dispute, whether they had a Power to convey away from us their Posterity, the Right of disposing of our own Money. 'Tis confess'd, that they have not done it, and we ought not now to do that Injury to our Posterity. Those that give Money, may either make it a Free Gift, or a Conditional One, as they see Occasion. But if they may be Limited and Circumscribed in the Conditions, and yet be oblig'd to give, they are no longer Givers, but dwindled into Assessors, that have nothing to do but to Measure out and Proportion; they who appoint the Conditions or Limitations of 'em, are the true and real Disposers, and the *C—ns* do not grant, but give Security to Pay. This, if the House of *C—ns* could be brought to submit to, they would no longer be the *Representatives*, but the *Assessors General* of the People, which is what some Persons, back'd by the *Whig* Faction, have been labouring for some Years. Whenever this Point is gain'd upon the *Commons*, either by the *Crown* or the *Lords*, the People are brought that very Moment under a Tyranny, whether *Monarchical* of the *M—rs*, or *Aristocrati-*cal of the *H—se* of *L—ds*. For the giving of Money on their own Terms, is the only Remainder of Sovereignty over themselves, of which the undisturbed exercise is left 'em, if we may call that undisturb'd which has been so often Attempted, as we have known this to be of late.

That those who give Money may either make it a Free, or a Conditional One, must be granted; if so, may not the *House* make a Present of so much Money to the Government by a Land-Tax with a Clause in it, provided *Occasional Conformity* be suppress'd under such Penalties: For if the *Commons* are only summoned to Give, and have no Grievances redress'd in exchange for those Gifts, our Constitution would differ very little from that of *France*; where they are conven'd together (I mean the Clergy) to give so many Millions as a Free Gift, and return to their respective Houses, without the Grant of any New Privileges or Immunities on the part of the Throne, and with no other Recompence than the simple Satisfaction of having contributed towards the Support of their Prince's Ambition.

Principal Ob-
jection con-
sider'd.

The great Objection, that it would take from the *L—s* their *Right* of *Deliberating*, is of no Weight: For in the Case of *Money-Bills* they have

no *Right* to *deliberate* upon any thing concerning 'em, but whether they will accept the Money upon the Terms it is offer'd, or not ; in which they are at their Liberty. Whether the *L...*s would have accepted the *Land-Tax* with the *Occasional Conformity Bill* Tack't to it, is more than any one, even themselves can tell ; but we are sure, that the *C.....s* ought not to take Notice of any Resolutions entred in the Books of their House in prejudice of their own *Rights* : If the *Com.....s* had thought (as some time or other perhaps they may) that the *Preservation* of the *Church of England* was as necessary as any thing for which they gave Money, and the *Bill* against *Occasional Conformity*, the only Expedient whereby it might be preserv'd, why should they not give their Money on that Condition as well as any other ? Though the present War, and the Condition of our Confederates Abroad do deserve our Consideration, Compassion and Assistance ; yet why may not the Ch——ch of E——d claim a share in our Concern likewise, And why may not Both be provided for at once ? But if the *L...*s should resolve to drop either the Ch——ch of E——d or the C———s, be it upon them if either Falls ; Let not us be accessary to it, but provide for Both : What would they have done, if we call'd it an *Aid* for granting an *Aid* to Her M.....y, for the better *Etablissement* of the Ch——ch of E——d, and for the more effectual carrying on the War against France and Spain ? Had there been any Repugnance, any Incongruity between these two Ends of giving Money ? Might not both have been pursued without any *Clashing*, if the *L——ds* had so pleased ?

' The Right of Deliberating is not meant here as referable to the *Money-Bill* ; for they can only say *Yea* or *No* upon that, without altering the Terms or Sum given, but to other *Bills* where they have the Prerogative of *Debate* ; and though the Commons are not to conform themselves by the Resolutions of the *L——ds Journals*, yet the *Lords* may enter a Protest, by way of Caveat, against the bringing in of any *Bill* from the Lower House of Parliament, that shall be derogatory to their Honour and Privilege.

But how was the *Right of Deliberation* taken from the *L——ds* in this Case, if the *Bill* had been Tack't ? Had not this *Bill* been pass'd by the *Lords* with certain Amendments ? And was it not now alter'd to the very Terms on which the *L--ds* had consented to it ? If the

L--ds were sincere at first, Can it be imagin'd that they would so far hazard the *Publick* as to go back, when so much must have been lost by it ? Would not some *M——rs* rather have suspended a while the pursuit of their *By-Game*, laid aside their shuffling Tricks, and have come roundly into the *Bill* ? If they had, their *Weight* would have turn'd the *Scale*, and put an End to a dangerous Contest ; and if they had not, they had deserv'd H——s. The Matter of *Deliberation* concerning the Substance of the *Occasional Conformity*

formity Bill had long been over, when the *Attempt* to Tack it was made ; and the only Question that remain'd *undecided* was, Whether the C——s shou'd lose a *Bill* that had been so often by themselves judg'd necessary, and part with an *Undoubted Right*, for the *Awe* of a *Resolution*, found on the *Books* of the House of L--ds, or not ? How it was determined, few among us are ignorant, and we hope by this time, most intelligent Persons are convinc'd, whom they are to thank, if the Consequence shou'd at one time or other cost them their Liberties.

' The Lords agree, that the *Occasional Bill* had been pass'd by them
' with several Amendments, and that this *Bill* was the same in Effect
' as what they had actually comply'd with in the preceding Session ;
' but what they quarrell'd with, was the way of bringing it up to
' their *House*, repugnant of a Resolution taken to the contrary ; nei-
' ther, say they, was it that they would have rejected it, because of
' the *Occasional Bill*, but because it might be a Precedent for any other
' *Bill* to be brought in, which might be of pernicious Consequence ;
' for a L--d is as subject to Humane Frailty and Imp——s as a
' C..... ; and who knows what might have become of some very
' wife Heads, from the next *Bill* that was to come up to them by way
' of the Tack.

Those that grant the *Right of Tacking*, and were afraid only of exercising it at this Juncture, for fear of the ill Effects it might have upon our C——s, may, to what has been already said, take this farther Answer : That it concerns not us to inquire what those Consequences might have been, since (as we have already prov'd) they could not have happen'd thro' our Fault. But it seems as if the L--ds had no such dreadful Apprehensions of them, when they stopt two M——y-B—s above three Weeks in their House, only to Quarrel with and Bully the C...s about the matter with which they had nothing to do.

' Her M——y has been pleas'd to call it a dangerous *Experiment* ;
' and the Author of the *Memorial* might have wav'd the Discourse on
' that Head, though it is very apparent, the Fault would have laid
' at the L...ds Door, if any Miscarriage had happen'd thro' the *Mo-
' ney Bill's* not Passing, since their L——ps had it in their own
' Breasts to give their Assents to it, or not, which must have acquit-
' ted the C——s from all Imputations whatsoever on that Con-
' troverted Account.

*Consequences
imputable to
those only who
are in the
wrong.*

But some that Grant the *Right of Tacking* to be very Ancient, say it was only exercised against the C...s, not against the L--ds. We freely acknowledge, that the L--ds did not anciently give the C.....s such Provocations to Tack upon 'em, as of late they have done. The L--ds were in those Days Men of very great Estates, and g...r Honour, who by not letting their Estates

at Rack Rents (as they do now) but being paid partly in Service, had most of the *Commons* of the *Campaign*, the *Country Gentlemen* and *Yeomen*, the best of our People for their *Vassals*. This made 'em regard one another after another manner, than now they do ; they thought they had but *One Interest*, and therefore the *L--ds* were obliging and tender of the *C....s*, and the *C....s* respectful and observant of the *L...s* ; and all things past between 'em with the utmost Kindness and Decency. They did not in those Days affect so much Distinction as now, but sat Friendly together in the same *House*, and concerted Matters amicably ; but all these Bands of Amity have long since been Dissolved. The *L--ds* have neither the great Estates, nor the great Qualities that endear'd 'em to the People then, and the Ancient Noble Practices are almost extinguish'd with the Ancient Noble Blood, and we have very few that can boast of an Hundred Years Nobility in their Families ; but to those that can, we are very thankful for the Interest we have in 'em, we Honour 'em as we ought, and are very sensible that our Differences are wholly owing to three or four Upstarts of a very fresh Date, and late Edition, *Sublata causa tollitur Effectus*, say the *Logicians* ; but these New Gentlemen require more Submission than ever was shewn to their Predecessors, (we are sorry that to most of 'em, we can't say their Ancestors) even tho' the Reasons of our Respect be intirely ceas'd ; but in *Vain* they require it, for we can't Reverence a Pimp, a Plunderer, a Buffoon, a Barrator, though he should wear the Title of *L——p*.

' To reflect upon such an August Assembly as the whole House of *L...ds*, because some of them probably have disoblig'd him, is very unbecoming ; and whatever our Ancestors did, as to the menage of their Estates, and how courteously soever they behav'd themselves to the *C....ns*, in sitting all in one House with them ; they had it in their Power from his own Words, to bear a higher Hand over them as their *Vassals* ; for he says, most of the Gentlemen fell under that Denomination than the present Nobility take upon 'em. As for Estates, it must be confess'd those in the Church Interest have the greatest, and the three or four Upstarts, as he is pleas'd to call Men possess'd of great Demesns and Places, that require so much Submission, we know not whom he means, but presume they are of a late Creation, not of *Q... A...s*, who never made a Pimp, a Plunderer, a Buffoon, or a Barrator, a *L...d*, since Her Happy Accession to the Throne of Her Ancestors.

This may serve to shew, why the Understanding between the *L--ds* and *Commons*, is not now so good as in the Days of our Ancestors : But they that tell us, that there were Tacks, which were not Tacks upon the *Lords*, would do well to tell us what sort of Tacks those were : For since the *Lords* are bound to receive or reject all *Money-Bills* entire, with all their Clauses, as they are sent up to 'em by the *Commons*, there can be no Tack upon the Crown which is not equally a Tack

upon the *Lords*. But if they mean only that the *Lords* did in those Days readily agree to Tacks, we answer, so they would now, if the Practices of some that have lately crept into their H....., did not render that and all other Powers of the C.....s dreadful to 'em, and them therefore desirous to extinguish 'em, which is the Ground of our present Quarrels.

' That some Gentlemen have Reason to be apprehensive of the ' dreadful Consequence of the *Tack* from their indirect Practices, ' is incontestable ; for a Clause may be brought in which may ' expose some things that are concealed, to *Light*, that may be of ' the last Consequence, to undeceive the *Moderation-mongers* to the ' Characters of their present Idols ; though I cannot hold with ' him, that what is a *Tack* upon the C——n is a *Tack* upon the ' L.....s, upon the several Accounts I have not time nor leisure to ' set down at this Juncture.

If, after all that has been said, any Persons will obstinately persist to maintain, that the Ch-ch of En-nd has no Reason to be Apprehensive for Her Security, they would do well to obviate those that
 slight our Apprehensions be suspected.

our Objections, and to remove our Fears, either by shewing such undeniable Grounds for their own Confidence, as may beget the like in us, or by proposing some sufficient Equivalent to what we have thought so Necessary for our Security, while they remain so impotent, unwilling or unable to do either of these ; We can't erlie so far upon any thing that they say, as to abandon our Care and Concern for our Ch-ch and Constitution, or to cease the Pursuit of such reasonable Measures as still seem to us absolutely Necessary to their Preservation. Nor can we take Railing at or displacing Gentlemen of the greatest Honour and Quality, whose only Fault is, a too watchful Zeal, for the Security of our Ch-ch and Nation (if it cou'd be prov'd that their Fears were not absolutely necessary) to be a Method of giving us Satisfaction, or lessening our Apprehensions ; on the contrary, we take the laying aside such steady Champions of the Ch-ch, such able Ministers, and such faithful Servants to the Queen, as the D. of B——m, the E-s of R——r, N——m, J——sy, W——sea, D——rt, the L—ds Gu——rd, Gr——le, Sir E—d S——r, Sir G. R——k, &c. To be manifest Indications, that the M——rs are resolved, by Force, to make the Ch.....h truckle to the Faction, whose Favourers are generally put into their Places.

' Turns of State will happen in all Governments, and there ' may be other Reasons for the Removal of great Officers from ' the C——t, than Matters of Religion ; so that we are not to ' dive into these Arcana's, but believe that the Changes are for the ' best, and humbly acquiesce in them. Despair will never help a ' sinking Cause, when Courage may support it ; and we are not ' to

‘ to question, but that if any indirect Practices have been made;
 ‘ to remove these worthy Patriots here nam’d from Her M—y’s
 ‘ C—l and Presence, it will be so far from being for Ever, we shall
 ‘ find them reinstated in the Q—n’s Favour again, who is of too
 ‘ penetrating an Enquiry not to find out the least Injustice, let
 ‘ it spring from never so deep a Fountain.

What other Construction can we make of disarming the Ch—ch here, and arming the Pr—ry in Sc—nd at the same time? Is this a time for the Ch—ch or Nation to be stript of the Assistance and Protection of such Friends, when Thirty Thousand Sc—s (which the lowest Calculations make ’em) Bigots to their Sect and Way, and Enemies to our Church, Discipline and Worship, are Arm’d, Regimented, and Exercised in our Neighbourhood, without so much as a Hedge between us to stop their Way, if they shou’d take a Fancy to come and prescribe Laws to us; or our *Dissenters* should (as they formerly did) invite ’em to come and reform our *Worship*, and settle the *Kingdom of Christ* (as their Cant is) among us? Can the H—se of C—ns be blam’d, if upon so dismal a Prospect, they endeavour to secure us by lodging the Civil Power in such Hands, as without Invading the Prerogative may best protect us against an Inundation of Sc—ch Pr—ry? The bare Possibility of what has once happen’d through their means, is enough to justify the utmost Caution of wise Men. But if, (as we ought) we add to it the Consideration of their present Posture and Inclinations, and the Disposition of a Party among us (now taken into *Favour* by some M—rs) who by their own Vaunts shou’d be considerable for their Strength; our most lively Apprehensions of their Conjunction can never be thought unreasonable.

‘ That the D—s are arm’d in S—d is certain; but we
 ‘ are to understand, they are the National *Church*, which is no
 ‘ such handle for a *Complaint*; but it’s a little too forward, and
 ‘ *Mal a propos*, to say the C—h of E—d here is disarm’d:
 ‘ For it does not follow, because the Noble Persons before-mentio-
 ‘ oned are disrob’d of their Places of Trust, that therefore they are
 ‘ not capable of assisting Her. What if they are not in the C—t,
 ‘ and at the C—l-B—d, they keep their Places in the House of
 ‘ L—s and C—s, and I question not will so behave Them-
 ‘ selves on an emergent Occasion, as to make *even their Enemies*
 ‘ seek to be at Peace with Them: For *Community* of Danger will
 ‘ shew a General Concurrence among the Members of the C—h
 ‘ Party, and if both L—s and C—s are agreed, that the late *Act of*
 ‘ *Security* (as ’tis call’d) pass’d in Sc—nd, is of the most extreme
 ‘ Danger to E—d, the Majority of L—s and C—s will close
 ‘ in with such Resolutions as shall be conducive to the Interest
 ‘ of the *Establish’d Church*, whenever the Clouds of Adversity shall

gather to overspread Her. And as for a *C—— War* between the Subjects of *E——d* and *S——d*, no such Thing is like to fall out, the Face of Affairs being shifted to another Point, and their *P——t* now sitting ready to join with us in an Union between the Two Nations.

Jndg d danger- Community of Danger always produces a Concurrence *rous to E——d* in Judgment, as to those Points from which the Danger is fear'd. And therefore whatever unhappy Differences have been of late created between the *L...ds* and *C——ns*, they have concurr'd in this, that the late *Act of Security* (as 'tis call'd) pass'd in *Sc——nd*, is of the most extreme Danger to *En——nd*, and we doubt not, but that when they meet next, they will agree to enquire who among us advis'd it. Many wise Men suspect, that it was done first to beget a Terror of the *Sc——ts*, and thence to evince the Necessity of a standing Army here. If that shou'd have been the Drift of the *Advisers*, it may serve as a *Glue* to lead us to the Knowledge of who those *Advisers* were, by considering who were likely to make the best *Market* of the Issue of that Advice. But 'tis a dismal Prospect to see a Civil War (as it were) cut out for us, before we can guess at the End of the Foreign one. We are very well satisfied of the Courage and Bravery of the Soldiers of both *Nations*, without bringing 'em to the Proof in our *Streets*; We pray God therefore in his *Mercy* to avert such *Judgments*.

But, while we may, it behoves us to consider, what remains yet for us to do to divert the Storm, which seems to hang over our Heads. Besides our Supplications as Pious Christians, there is something Incumbent on us, as we pretend to be a Prudent People. For we must not expect to be pray'd only out of our Difficulties: It may therefore import us to consider, what the present Disposition of our Neighbour Nation, that is now Arming, is towards us, and who among our selves stand most affected to 'em, and wou'd farthest indulge their Designs. The *Sc——ts* have already banish'd our *C——n* and Disinherited our *C——wn*; and therefore, if ever they come hither, it will not be to fetch our *Ch——ch* or *Go——nt* into *Sc——nd*. Those therefore that love these best will least Desire their Company here: But if we have any among us that are Fond or Favourers of the Scotch Kirk Discipline, it will be a more dangerous Experiment than has been made above these Forty Years to trust 'em with the Civil Power.

As for the *S——* disinheriting our *C——n*, the Close of the last Remark in a sufficient Reply to that insinuation, and since there is likely to be an Agreement with the *S——s*, without introducing their Kirk Discipline, that Bugbear is removed without any farther Consideration.

That to prevent the Civil Power from falling into suspected Hands, was the Sole Design of those who promoted the Bill against the Occasional Conformity (and not a Struggle for Places, as their Corrupt Adversaries pretend) was fairly demonstrated by their hearty Endeavour to Incapacitate even *Themselves* for Court Places (which are the only places of Profit and Influence) while they were honour'd with the Trust of their Country. Neither did they desire to take away from others their Liberty of Conscience, while they endeavour'd to secure their own, as has been as falsely as Maliciously insinuated, and Villanously Objected, by those who themselves Practise, or Countenance others to Practise. Such Equivocal, Hypocritical Shifts to elude the Force of Plain Laws, as have proceeded from the Jesuit's Mint, and were then Invented, as they are still Leven'd and Aim'd against the Ch--ch of E--d, to which, as well those who serve themselves of such Vile Expedients, as they who Contriv'd 'em, are the Inveterate Enemies; Is it not an Inconceivable Stupidity to Accuse or Suspect those of Monopolizing Places, who would Voluntarily disabie themselves from holding any by a Self-denying Bill? Or of designing against the Free Toleration, while they are with all their might labouring to set it on Foot with their own Security? But these things having been largely Spoken to already, We shall not Prosecute the Discourse of 'em any farther here.

'The self Denying Bill is not such an Argument against their struggling for Places as they would have it, say the Dissenters, for its Natural force is a Man when He can't get into a Place Himself to rail against all Men in Offices, as in the Case of an Eminent SNEAKER lately flung out from being Member of Parliament for the Ensuing Session, and that Envious Man in the Fable who malign'd another's Good, Agreed to have one of His own Eyes pull'd out, that t'other might lose Both, did it out of a Principle of sheer Malice.

We can't conclude without intreating our Countrymen to take these Things into their Consideration, and that all sorts of Men (espically the true Sons of the Ch--ch) wou'd weigh well the Greatness, and the Evidence of their Danger. This will make 'em set a just value upon those ever to be honour'd Gentlemen, who in opposition to a Restless, Clamorous Faction, an Intriguing, Self-ended, Single M--ry, and a Troop of Mercenary Renegades and Pensioners, have made Head for the Establishment of the Ch--ch, the True Interest of the Q---n, the Maintenance of our Constitution, the Defence of the Privileges of Parliament, the Rights of the People, and the future Peace and Quiet of the whole Nation. That we may obtain all these Blessings, we hope they will Recommend to their next Representatives the Care of the Occasional Conformity, and Self-denying Bills, and the Protection of their Privileges, which are the Peoples own, and their Sole Pledges of Liberty. The Care of these, as touching us nearly and sensibly, ought to go at least

least *Hand in Hand* with our *Concern* for our *Foreign Allies* ; which done we may be again so *Happy* as to see the *Q—n* well and faithfully *Serv'd* by *Persons* duly *Qualify'd*, the *People* rightly *Represented* by *Gentlemen* *Unbrib'd*, *Disinterested*, and *Unbias'd* ; *Religion* *Flourish*, *Trade* *Revive*, our *Arms* *Prosper*, and our *Confederates* *Reliev'd* ; and thro' these *Fortunate Islands* *Salus Populi Suprema Lex erit*. Which *God* grant, and long *Preserve* the *QUEEN*.

‘ As for his *Conclusion* no *True Son* of the *Church*, or *Native* of this *Flourishing K—m* but will *Joyn* in *Him* with *His* *Wishes* for the *Publick Good*, and for setting a *Value* upon *Gentlemen* of such *Approv'd* *Conduct* as the *Lords* and *Commons* here *hinted* at, its the *Interest* of every *True Englishmen* so to do. As for the *Care* of those *Things* He *proposes* to the *Ensuing* *Parliament*, Doubtless they are of such an *Universal Concern*, that no *Consideration* whatsoever, not even the *Regard* which should be had to *A——e*. For if we do but once *Purge* the *state* from *Caterpillars* and such other *Insects* as *prey* upon the *state*, We shall not be onely *strong* and *Powerful* at *Home*, but *Formidable* *Abroad*, which is all the *Church* of *England* aim's, at and is the *Ne plus Ultra* of Her most *Equitable* *Deligns*:

F I N I S.

least *Hand in Hand* with our *Concern* for our *Foreign Allies* ; which done we may be again so *Happy* as to see the *Q—n* well and faithfully *Serv'd* by *Persons* duly *Qualify'd*, the *People* rightly *Represented* by *Gentlemen* *Unbrib'd*, *Disinterested*, and *Unbias'd* ; *Religion Flourish*, *Trade Revive*, our *Arms Prosper*, and our *Confederates Reliev'd* ; and thro' these *Fortunate Islands* *Salus Populi Suprema Lex erit*. Which *God* grant, and long *Preserve* the *QUEEN*.

‘ As for his *Conclusion* no *True Son* of the *Church*, or *Native* of this *Flourishing K—m* but will *Joyn* in *Him* with *His* *Wishes* for the *Publick Good*, and for *setting a Value* upon *Gentlemen* of such *Approv'd Conduct* as the *Lords* and *Commons* here *hinted at*, its the *Interest* of every *True Englishmen* so to do. As for the *Care* of those *Things* He *proposes* to the *Ensuing Parliament*, Doubtless they are of such an *Universal Concern*, that no *Consideration* whatsoever, not even the *Regard* which should be had to *A——e*. For if we do but once *Purge* the *state* from *Caterpillars* and such other *Insects* as *prey* upon the *state*, We shall not be onely *strong* and *Powerful* at *Home*, but *Formidable* *Abroad*, which is all the *Church* of *England* aim's, at and is the *Ne plus Ultra* of Her most *Equitable Deligns*:

F I N I S.

